INDIA

IN

1921-22

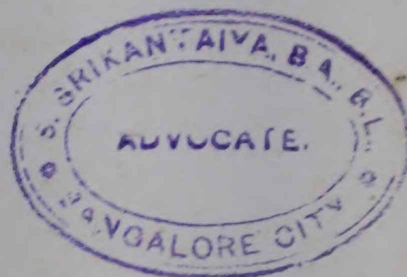


CALCUTTA
SUPERINTENDENT GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA
1922

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INDIA IN 1921-22

A Report prepared for presentation to Parliament in accordance with the requirements of the 26th Section of the Government of India Act (5 & 6 Geo. V, Chap. 61)

BY

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Government of India



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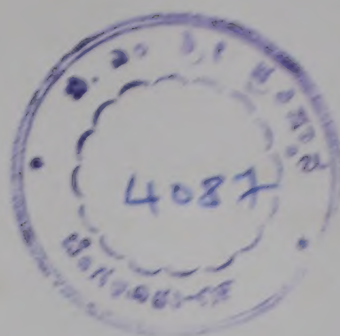
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FOREWORD.

THE period reviewed in the following pages embraces the introduction and early progress, amidst exceptionally difficult conditions, of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Whether the constitutional experiment undertaken by the Government of India in conformity with the orders of His Majesty's Government will justify the hopes of its designers, by bridging the gulf between autocracy and responsibility, time alone can decide. That there are good reasons both for hope and for apprehension is plain even from the brief scope of this Report. On the one hand the work achieved by the Reformed Governments in face of all the energies of a movement so formidable and so determined as non-co-operation cannot but reveal the solidity of the foundation upon which the administrative structure is set. On the other hand, unrest in the moral, social and economic spheres, together with an acute, but it may be hoped transitory, outbreak of racial feeling, has constituted, during the period under review, a serious menace to ordered progress. At the moment of writing, political agitation is less intense and the activities of the non-co-operating party have lost, whether temporarily or permanently, the militant fervour characteristic of the early phases of Mr. Gandhi's movement. This relative calm, succeeding so many months of storm, seems to indicate the close of one epoch in the campaign against the new constitution. Accordingly, the narrative of political events comprised in Chapters II, III and IV has been extended beyond the close of the calendar year 1921, in such manner as to round off the record of a well-marked and very critical period.

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Except where otherwise mentioned, the pound sterling is taken as the equivalent of ten rupees. To minimise confusion, the rupee figures are also given in important statistics.

Erratum on page 273, line 2, *omit* quote "transferred" unquote.



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CHAPTER I.

India and the World.

India and Asia.

It is remarked with justice that the North-West Frontier question has long exercised a continuous if customarily imponderable influence upon the fortunes of India. That such should be the case is scarcely strange ; for while the conditions governing the defence of India's landward gate vary from age to age, her vulnerability is as unalterable as her mountain passes ; her attraction as permanent as human cupidity. Since the establishment of British Rule, the might of the Empire has shielded India from her foes, and, in part at least, obliterated from folk-memory the horrors of recurrent invasion. But in proportion as the educated classes acquire an ampler acquaintance with living political issues, their interest increases in those external developments which concern the security of their frontiers. Particularly during the course of the period under review, has there been noticeable a growing anxiety among certain sections of the Indian public relative to the situation in Central Asia; combined with a gradual realization that the problem of India's defence is at once more vital and more complex than is generally supposed. This development is healthy, not merely from the proof it affords that Indian citizens are awakening to the responsiblities of their newly recognised status in the commonwealth, but also from the inherent gravity of the subject itself. Anarchy in Central Asia : the advancing tide of Bolshevik aggression : deeply agitated Islamic sentiment : a distracted border—such were the anxieties which beset the statesmen of India throughout the year 1921.

Bolshevik Activities in 1920.

During the course of the year 1920, the Soviet Government of Russia, while voicing uncompromising hostility to the British Commonwealth, had directed all its energies towards recapturing that advantageous position in Central Asia which had been lost subsequently to the October

revolution of 1917. The success achieved was remarkable. The Soviet system quickly spread to the new Republics set up after the downfall of the Tsarist regime, with the result that the Russian position in Transcaucasia and Turkistan was for the moment rapidly reconsolidated. The way was open for aggressive activities in the Persian, Afghan, and ultimately it was hoped, in the Indian, spheres. The autumn of 1920 saw further progress: Georgia was overrun: the Amirate of Bokhara subdued and Bolshevik penetration into Northern Persia deeply advanced. The rising tide of Russian power excited considerable apprehension in Afghanistan, with the natural consequence that the Russian emissaries were successful in concluding a draft treaty, which seemed to secure for their country a valuable advance base for the subversion of India by their propaganda. Towards the end of the year, however, the striking success of the Soviet Government in Central Asia underwent some serious reverses. The ratification of the Treaty of Sèvres and the Greek victories over Turkish nationalist forces, while they alarmed Islamic feeling, did much to discredit the power of Russia. The failure of the Bolshevik invasions of Poland and the counter invasion by the Poles of Russian territory, seemed to show the weakness of the Soviet Government. Moreover, the impression produced upon the Islamic world by the subversion of a Muslim State so old and so well established as Bokhara, did not fail to exercise an influence unfavourable to Russia. The Muhammadan inhabitants of Transcaucasia and Turkistan, groaning beneath Bolshevik oppression, broke into sporadic revolts, which were bloodily stamped out with a brutality which convinced the most sanguine believers in an alliance between Bolshevism and Islam of the contrast between Communist theory and Communist practice. The result of these various happenings was felt in India, when the Amir of Afghanistan invited a British delegation to Kabul, for the purpose of exploring the possibilities of an Anglo-Afghan treaty.

Position of the Afghans.

As was pointed out in last year's Report, the Amir of Afghanistan occupies a position of no little difficulty. In comparison with Russia and India, his two great neighbours, his resources are comparatively small; and he can afford to quarrel with neither unless assured of hearty support from the other. And, as fate would have it, about the time that the British delegation under Sir Henry Dobbs arrived in Kabul, the situation of the Bolsheviks began to show signs of temporary improvement. The failure of the Persian Parliament to ratify the projected Anglo-Persian Agreement

was hailed as a triumph for Soviet diplomacy. A further success followed. The Communists, by sacrificing in name the position of influence which Tsarist Russia had acquired in Persia, were able to secure a definite treaty with the Persian Government. Further west, Bolshevik forces had joined hands with the Turkish nationalist forces, who had now begun to win successes over the Greeks. Armenia was overrun and subjugated. At the same time, the internal difficulties of Bolshevik Russia were somewhat eased by the conclusion of peace with Póland. This rendered possible that concentration of Russian forces which resulted in the defeat of the counter revolutionary movement led by General Wrangel.

The Anglo-Afghan Negotiations.

As might have been expected, this improvement in the fortunes of the Bolsheviks did not facilitate the progress of the negotiations in which Sir Henry Dobbs was engaged. For the Afghan authorities were at first disposed to raise their terms to a height which made agreement difficult. In the early spring of 1921, however, the situation again changed. The Communist economy of Russia broke down so seriously as to endanger the whole stability of the Central Soviet Government. A serious, if abortive, rising blazed up in Southern Russia. Germany, who had raised high hopes in the breasts of England's enemies by her blustering attitude towards the Allied demand for reparation, suddenly collapsed like a pricked bubble, at the first display of Allied force. Eastward also, the situation temporarily deteriorated for the Bolsheviks. They quarrelled seriously with Mustapha Kamal over the division of Armenia and his refusal to "Bolshevise" the territory of Angora. To make matters worse, a new Greek offensive achieved considerable success. The pitiful breakdown of the "Muhajarin" movement of religious pilgrimage from India to Afghanistan, as related in last year's Report, greatly discouraged those who built high hopes upon the outbreak of religious disorders in India. Further, Islamic feeling in Central Asia,

Ebb and Flow of Soviet Fortunes.

already alarmed for reasons indicated above, showed renewed symptoms of hostility towards Bolshevism, in proportion as the territories over which the Soviet had recently acquired influence were one by one mercilessly exploited to relieve the internal needs of Russia. Afghan sentiment in particular was much excited by the arrival in the country of the ex-Amir of Bokhara; and by the pitiful tales of misery and oppression carried to Kabul by thousands of his late subjects. It was symptomatic at once of the weakness and of the perfidy of the Soviet Government

that although circumstances compelled the conclusion of a Trade Treaty with Great Britain, there was no cessation of the efforts made by Russian emissaries to secure the aid of the Afghans for the subversion of the independent tribes on the Indian border, and for the penetration into India of Bolshevik propaganda.

Bolshevik Diplomacy in Afghanistan.

During the summer of 1921, the domestic difficulties of the Soviet Government increased in terrible measure. Plague, pestilence and famine overran the unfortunate population of European Russia. Allied aid, at first contemptuously spurned, was before long implored with the vehemence of despair. But if the foundations upon which the Central Soviet Government rested were lamentably weak, its advance agents in no wise desisted from their labours. Their efforts in Afghanistan were aided by two principal factors. Both the recent triumph of the Turkish nationalist forces over the Greek invaders, and the uneasy internal situation of India, could not but exercise an influence upon the judgment of the Amir's advisers. At a heavy price in money and materials, the Soviet Government succeeded in securing the ratification at Kabul of a Russo-Afghan Treaty which they hoped might provide them with the channels they so ardently desired for conveying their corrosive propaganda into India. At the worst, they hoped that the Russian Consulates they were to secure under the Treaty so near to India as Kandahar, Ghazni and Jalalabad, would prevent the immediate establishment of that close amity and friendliness between the Amir and India, which it was the desire of all true friends of Afghanistan should be concluded.

Anglo-Afghan Treaty.

But as time drew on, the terrible weakness of Russia could no longer be concealed. Moreover the firmness of the Government of India in its dealings with the recalcitrant Mahsuds and Wazirs—of which more later—was probably not without its effect upon Afghan opinion. However this may be, the discussions between the British delegation and the Amir's Government steadily gravitated towards the conclusion of a treaty, if not of close friendship, at any rate of neighbourly relations. Satisfactory written assurances having been given by Afghanistan that Russian Consulates—that is, of course propaganda bases—should be excluded from the neighbourhood of the Indo-Afghan Frontier, the way seemed open to fruitful negotiations. After the delays and difficulties insuperable from the conduct of intricate diplomacy, a Treaty was accordingly signed by representatives of Afghanistan and Great Britain on the 22nd

of November 1921. The terms of this document will be found in an Appendix; it is here sufficient to say that the two Governments agreed to respect one another's internal and external independence; to recognise boundaries then existent, subject to a slight readjustment near the Khyber; to receive Legations at London and Kabul and Consular officers at Delhi, Calcutta, Karachi, Bombay and Kandahar and Jalalabad respectively. The Afghan Government are allowed to import free of customs duty such material as is required for the strengthening of their country. So long as the British are assured that the intentions of the Afghans are friendly, this proviso applies to arms and ammunition also. The export of goods to British territory from Afghanistan is permitted, while separate Postal and Trade conventions are to be concluded in the future. Further, each party undertakes to inform the other of major military operations in the vicinity of the border line.

The close of the year 1921 thus witnessed a distinct advance in the relations of Afghanistan with India and the British Empire. The open hostility which marked the accession of the present Amir has given place to neighbourly sentiment, based on an appreciation of the advantages of amity between neighbouring States. How the present position will develop, must depend to a large extent on external factors. But it is permissible to hope that the future will see the establishment of something like the former close friendliness which for so many years served alike the interests of India and of Afghanistan.

The Border in 1921.

During the greater part of 1921 the uncertainty of relations between the two countries exercised a considerable influence over the affairs of the Border. As compared with the year 1920, which reaped the harvest of hostilities with Afghanistan following upon the reaction of the great war, the conditions of the frontier in 1921 showed some improvement. None the less, the situation along the whole border continued to be one of delicacy, and in Waziristan itself, one of great difficulty. The failure of the spring rains caused the severest scarcity felt in the border regions for 20 years. In some districts indeed, the rain which fell in July and August 1921 was the first which had been seen for 18 months. This factor made for a certain measure of peace on the Frontier. While the course of the negotiations in Kabul was eagerly watched by the tribesmen, the general opinion was soon formulated that Afghanistan, which was also suffering from scarcity, would not break off relations with the Indian Government. Further, as time wore on, it was apparent that there would be no concessions for the erring tribes on the British side of the

Durand line. Generally speaking therefore, the condition of the North-West Frontier as a whole during 1921 was fairly satisfactory for a region in which the elements of discord and strife are continually present. Waziristan must be excepted, however, even from this qualified statement. Mention was made in last year's report of the punitive action undertaken against the Mahsuds and the Wazirs. The continued misbehaviour of these stubborn tribes and their intolerable raiding into the settled districts of British India have led during the years 1920-21 to a careful scrutiny of our relations with them.

British Policy in Waziristan.

Ever since the British Government inherited from the Sikhs the task of controlling Waziristan, and especially since Amir Abdurrahman formally recognised it as lying within our sphere, an attempt has been made to follow the policy of non-interference. Two lines of Militia posts along the Tochi in the north and towards Wano in the south have indeed been held for the purpose of checking raids upon the settled inhabitants of India and upon the caravan traffic proceeding up and down the Gomal. But to this end militia recruited from the Wazirs and Mahsuds themselves was mainly employed. There was no interference with the internal affairs of the tribesmen and beyond the grant of subsidies intended to enable their maliks to keep the young bloods from raiding, the British Administration has had as little to do with them as possible. But the hope that if they were left alone they would leave British India alone has proved fallacious. On an average every four years their repeated misdeeds have necessitated punitive operations of major or minor importance. Since 1852 there have been 17 of these military operations and since 1911, four. All have been occasioned by deliberate aggression on the part of the tribesmen, who have ravaged the plains whenever they saw an opportunity. During the Great War and the Afghan war of 1919, their depredations grew bolder and more intolerable than ever before; and after the signature of peace with Afghanistan, they absolutely refused the lenient terms offered them by the British Government, who desired to avoid a campaign. During the year 1920, punitive operations involving severe fighting had to be undertaken against the Mahsuds. By May 1920 active fighting on a large scale was over and the end of the year saw our troops firmly established at Laddha in the heart of the Mahsud country within easy striking distance of the important centres of Makin and Kaniguram. During the remainder of the year, a number of the Mahsud sections outwardly acquiesced in our presence and

submitted to our terms. Towards the close of 1920, operations were undertaken against the Wana Wazirs. Wana was occupied and certain of the militia posts which had been abandoned since the disturbances following the Afghan war of 1919 were re-garrisoned. The Wana Wazirs, however, received no severe lesson, since our advance into their country had been practically unopposed. None the less, although the British forces occupied a dominating position in the heart of their country, their submission was more nominal than real.

Survey of Border Affairs.

Unfortunately, a survey of border affairs from north to south will show how difficult is the task of reducing this unruly belt even to the semblance of order. North of Waziristan, it is true, the position was better than in the preceding year. Taking first the Khyber region,

The Khyber.

it is to be noticed that the general tone of the Afridis showed marked improvement. At the end of the year 1920 many of the fines demanded were still unpaid and the quota of rifles to be surrendered was still lacking, but early in the year 1921 the majority of the sections completed their settlement. The Khyber railway scheme, which had been propounded to the Afridis towards the end of 1920, readily attracted tribal labour and there was competition to secure contracts on the line. Similarly the scheme of garrisoning the Khyber Pass with Khassadars—that is tribal levies raised and commanded by headmen and armed with their own weapons—quickly achieved popularity. Congenial and well-paid work on the Khyber Road and Railway and in the garrisoning of the Pass; the renewal of tribal allowances conditional upon good conduct; and the re-enlistment in restricted numbers of Afridis in the Army; helped largely in the amelioration of the situation. Anti-British agitation among the Afridi tribes was still kept up under the leadership of notorious firebrands, who, however, were strongly opposed by the pro-British members of the tribe. On the whole the year 1920 closed with a situation more satisfactory in the Khyber and Afridi territories than had been the case for some time. Further south, in the Kohat

Kohat and Kurram Areas.

and Kurram areas, there was a good deal of disturbance during 1920. Serious offences in particular were committed by the Khojal Khel Wazirs, which necessitated vigorous counter measures. Of these the most important were the destruction of certain of their villages. Before the end of the year this section had come to terms with Government and had almost settled their accounts. Other sections of the Wazirs living between

the Tochi and the Kurram were active in raiding into British territory during the year. In addition to highway robbery, cattle lifting, and burglary, which were freely practised, the most vexatious form of raiding and the one on which they concentrated most of their energies, was the kidnapping of individuals on the plains for the purpose of holding them to ransom. These operations were conducted on a systematic scale, and there were regular prisons in which the unfortunate captives were confined until the money demanded for their release was forthcoming. Punitive operations directed against the most notorious of these clearing houses were successful in enabling several kidnapped persons to make their way back to their villages. The nuisance, however, continued, though on a diminishing scale, throughout the year.

Operations in Waziristan.

In Waziristan there was almost continual trouble during 1921. The Wazir and Mahsud tribesmen who refused to make their peace with Government were supported both with arms and with money by certain anti-British elements, chief among whom was Haji Abdur Raziq. and Mullah Bashir from the Chamarkhand colony of Hindustani fanatics. These irreconcilables strove to keep alive the opposition to the British Government and to prevent any settlement taking place. In their efforts they unfortunately met with considerable success, despite the fact that our troops were firmly stationed in the Tochi area with Dardoni as the strong post and that the intermediate points down to Bannu were occupied.

Northern Waziristan.

A regular campaign had to be conducted against the gangs who made their living by kidnapping British subjects and raiding the villages in the plains. This was not unsuccessful: and when at the beginning of December, a column went from Dardoni to Datta Khel to assist the political officer to instal the North Waziristan Scouts in the fort, the move met with no opposition. Later on in the same month, however considerable casualties were inflicted upon a convoy returning from Datta Khel down the Spinchilla Pass. The state of affairs in Central Waziristan was even more disturbed. As already noticed our troops

Central Waziristan.

at the beginning of 1921 were established at Laddha and a number of the Mahsud sections were apparently acquiescing in our terms. But here also there were many irreconcilables, as well as adventurous spirits among the friendlies who were quick to take advantage of any situation favourable to themselves. It was difficult to prevent large parties of raiders from collecting in the extremely broken country and launching unexpected attacks on our

convoys. Among the most notorious of the local recalcitrants was Musa Khan, who all throughout the first half of 1921 carried out an intensive campaign against our communications. In March and April almost daily attacks were made upon convoys and pickets, causing considerable loss in men and in transport animals. These attacks were pressed home with the greatest courage and tenacity. In June however the situation was somewhat altered by the arrival at Laddha of two six-inch howitzers. A steady daily bombardment of the vicinity continued up to the middle of September. The Abdullai sub-section, over whom Musa Khan presided, being unable to cultivate their crops, were compelled to desert their homes and take refuge in the numerous caves in the hills. For a time the more stout-hearted continued to harass our lines of communication and gave considerable trouble. But they gradually tired, and towards the end of September the whole section commenced to negotiate for peace. A final settlement was concluded on the 29th of December and a temporary cessation of the Abdullai opposition thus resulted.

Southern Waziristan.

In Southern Waziristan, as already noticed, the beginning of 1921 saw our troops still at Wana. As the fighting in the course of our advance had not been severe, the Wana Wazirs were still inclined to listen to the blandishments of the Anti-British party. In February it was therefore found necessary to destroy certain villages, and the country west of Wana was swept in a most comprehensive manner. This operation led to the gradual collapse of opposition. The antagonism of the tribesmen was considerably reduced in June; and on the 14th of September our terms were accepted and the Wana Wazirs signed a treaty. Subsequently to its signing, our regular troops were removed from Wana and their place was taken by Khassadars. By the 21st of December the whole force had withdrawn to Jandola and the Wana column, which had been in existence since the end of 1920, was broken up.

South of the Gomal.

Crossing the Gomal valley to the South, we notice that the condition of affairs in Baluchistan during the year 1921 has been on the whole not unsatisfactory. The presence of a British mission in Kabul early began to exercise a tranquilising effect, and although the settlement of Waziristan, as we have seen, was a matter of difficulty, the first months of 1921 were free from trouble. There was a cessation of raids in Zhob; many outlaws supposed to be irreconcilables began to come back; and the deserters and bad character

who still remained had perforce to sit idle on the other side of the border waiting for permission to re-enter British territory. There were, however, some formidable raids from the Afghan side by certain colonies of refugees, who had been allowed to settle in Afghan territory by the Amir. In November a big gang, openly boasting of their intention to attack Pishin, crossed the border into British territory and succeeded in overwhelming a party of Indian infantry under two British officers. Both the officers and 10 men were killed and the remainder of the column wounded or taken prisoners. The raiders returned across the border in triumph with valuable loot in the shape of rifles and transport. This disaster synchronised with the signing of the Afghan treaty; and as a result of the protest made by the chief of the British Mission, the Amir expressed his deep regret at what had occurred and promised to punish the offenders.

Condition of Baluchistan.

The administration of Baluchistan has many excellent features. In its councils of elders, both local and provincial, it enjoys an admirable system of home-rule. There is a simple revenue system which everyone understands, and the people have easy access to British officials. The close personal relationship which exists between the administrative officers, both British and Indian, and the people themselves gives reality to popular influence and adds to the general contentment. During the period under review, the policy of associating the people as much as possible with the administration, of taking their advice through their councils of elders not only upon tribal matters but upon larger questions of policy, and of giving them additional responsibility, has been steadily pursued. There was no political disturbance of any sort during 1921; and although the people of Baluchistan were fully alive to the possibilities of the political development they unmistakably showed that they prefer steady advance along the lines to which they have been accustomed to the specious projects of outside political reformers. But there is not the slightest doubt that if the opportunity arose, and there was a weakening of the central power, the virile inhabitants of Baluchistan would readily turn their energies towards raiding into India.

The Border and the Public.

During the period under review, a considerable amount of attention has been directed towards the frontier administration by the general public of India. Mention was made in last year's report of the abnormal number of dangerous and destructive raids which were carried out by the tribesmen upon peaceful inhabitants of the North-West Frontier Province. The unrest which has swept up and down our borders is in a large degree a heritage from

the third Afghan war of 1919. But there have been at work other forces including the general disquiet consequent upon the world struggle; the presence in tribal areas of a large number of deserters from the Army; the perennial economic pressure of growing populations on land too poor to feed them; and the inevitable excitement caused by the military misfortunes of Turkey as mirrored in the glass of Indian political agitation. During the year 1919-20, as we saw, no fewer than 611 raids had taken place in the settled districts of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. This resulted in the killing of 298, the wounding of 392, and the kidnapping of 463 British subjects. Property estimated at a (probably exaggerated) value of Rs. 39 lakhs was looted. During the year 1920-21, fortunately, the number of these outrages decreased to 391. At the same time, 153 persons were killed, 157 persons injured, and 56 persons kidnapped and returned on payment of ransom. Property to the value of some 2 lakhs was looted. While therefore the administration had some success in reducing the number of raids and outrages, as proved by these figures, the fact remains that much suffering and loss is still inflicted by the tribesmen upon British subjects. In consequence, bitter complaints have appeared in the press as to the inadequacy of the present system of protection. Further in a time of financial stringency, force has been lent to these complaints by the heavy expenditure shown in the Budget of the North-West Frontier Province. The revenues of the province have indeed increased from Rs. 46 lakhs odd in 1903-04 to Rs. 70 lakhs odd in 1919-20; but the cost of administration has risen from Rs. 55 lakhs odd to Rs. 180 lakhs odd during the same period. Indeed the excess of expenditure over revenues amounted in the year 1920 to more than Rs. 109 lakhs, with the result that the province has been the cause of considerable expenditure from the Imperial treasury. While much weighty criticism has been directed, particularly in the Legislative Assembly, against this state of affairs, it is not always realised that the problem of the inhospitable frontier does not lend itself to cheap or easy solution. Expenditure on frontier defence is incurred not merely for the protection of the sorely harassed inhabitants of our border districts against trans-frontier lawlessness and raids; it is also incurred for the defence of India as a whole. At the same time, the ventilation of the whole question of border policy has led to inquiries as to the desirability of retaining or reversing Lord Curzon's separation of the North-West Frontier Province from the Punjab. This has been stimulated by the

The Administration of the North-West Frontier Province.

belief among educated Indian opinion that the inhabitants of the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province are suffering both in their political advance and in their judicial administration by their association with a Government mainly concerned with the direction of comparatively uncivilised trans-frontier tribesmen. As a result of a resolution brought forward by Sir Sivaswami Aiyer in the Legislative Assembly in September 1921, a Committee has been appointed by the Government of India to examine the question of the North-West Frontier Province. It is much to be hoped that its report, which cannot fail to be of great weight, will satisfy Indian educated opinion as to the proper course to be pursued in the administration of the North-West Frontier Province.

The Frontier Province Committee.

As might naturally be supposed, the unquiet border, in combination with the uncertainty of India's relations with Afghanistan, served during 1921 to focus the attention of educated India more definitely upon the problems of defence than has for some time been the case. The stimulus so provided was undoubtedly enhanced first by the aggressive Pan-Islamism of certain Khilafat extremists, which aroused anxiety in their more peacefully-minded compatriots ; and secondly, by financial stringency, which caused much attention to be devoted to the question of economy in the army as well as in other branches of the administration. Accordingly, during the year 1921, not merely in the public press but also in the central legislature, questions concerning defence assumed notable proportions. There was, on the one hand, a great demand for economy in military administration, in so far as this could be accomplished without damage to India's safety ; on the other hand, there was a determination to assert India's claim to what may be called the "nationalisation" of the army. Now the total military grant for the year 1921-22 amounted to £62·2 millions (Rs. 62·2 crores). This bore so high a proportion to the total expenditure of the Central Government that criticism of a poignant character was directed, both in the legislature and outside it, against the existing military administration. In the somewhat natural impatience for economy, the fact was not realized by many Indian leaders that nowhere else in the world does a population so large as that of India pay so little per head as the price of its own defence. Bitter criticisms were made in connection with the military budget, and the necessity for retrenchment was freely urged. The authorities

Public Opinion and Defence Problems.

Demand for Economy.

were far from oblivious to the necessity for meeting, in such degree as their responsibility for India's safety permitted, the demand for economy. Indeed, as a result of the efforts of His Excellency Lord Rawlinson, a saving in the established charges of the Army amounting to no less than £1·29 millions (Rs. 1·29 crores) was effected in the course of the financial year. Unfortunately, as will be pointed out in another chapter, the cost of the unexpected continuance of operations in Waziristan more than swallowed up this saving, with the result that the revised expenditure on military requirements during 1921-22 comes to £65 millions (Rs. 65 crores).

Efforts of the Administration.

Further, the reduction of the army in India to a post-war footing was steadily carried out, and 51 Indian infantry battalions, 7 Indian pioneer battalions, 6 Indian pack artillery batteries, and 40 units of sappers and miners, were disbanded during the period under review. Indian cavalry regiments were also reduced in number by amalgamation in pairs, from 38 to 24; and provision was made to reduce this total to 21 on the return of one regiment from overseas. Efficiency was also increased by the formation of Indian cavalry, infantry and pioneers into groups, each group consisting, in the case of infantry and pioneers, of a varying number of active battalions and one training battalion.

Reduction in Establishments.

In addition to complaints against the cost to India of her defence charges, there was also during the year under review considerable criticism of what was regarded as a tendency to deprive India of control of her own forces. Mention was made in last year's report of the conclusions formulated by the Committee presided over by Lord Esher to enquire into the Indian military system. As was previously pointed out, the Esher Committee believed that the survival in some form or other of the principle of an Imperial cabinet composed of the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and of the Dominions was inevitable; and that this machinery would carry along with it some corresponding organization in the sphere of Imperial defence. Their recommendations had for a guide rule, consistency with three great principles; first, the control by the Government of India of Indian military forces; secondly, the assignment of due weight to the opinions of that Government on questions of Imperial defence; and thirdly, the exercise of a considered influence by the Imperial General Staff upon the military policy of the Government of India

The Esher Report.

as upon that of the other Governments of the Commonwealth. During 1920 and 1921, Indian opinion did not understand that the structure contemplated by the Esher Committee, in which the Army in India was to play its part as one unit of a co-ordinated whole, had not yet come into full existence. There was thus a confusion in the minds of many critics between the supreme direction of the military forces of the Empire in an organization such as that contemplated by the Esher Committee, and the system which is generally described as War Office control. In no circumstances, of course, are Indian political leaders likely to look with favour upon any policy which seems, however remotely, to deprive the Indian Government, over which they have legitimate aspirations for control, of unfettered direction of the Indian army. Accordingly, the Legislative Assembly in its first session directed much attention to the Esher Committee Report, and as a result of the examination of this Report by a Committee of the Legislature, certain very important resolutions were moved defining the attitude of the Assembly towards certain of the main problems of army administration. The Assembly declared that the purposes of the army in India must be held to be defence against external aggression and the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity; that to the extent to which it is necessary for India to maintain an army for these purposes, its organization, equipment and administration should be thoroughly up-to-date; but that for any other purposes, the obligations resting on India should be no more onerous than those resting on the self-governing dominions, and should be undertaken subject to the same conditions as are applicable to those areas. The Assembly also repudiated the assumption, which it somewhat incorrectly believed to underlie the Report of the Esher Committee, that the administration of the army in India cannot be considered otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire; and that the military resources of India should be developed in a manner suitable to Imperial necessities. The Assembly further recommended that the army in India should not as a rule be employed for service outside India's external frontiers, except for purely defensive purposes, or with the previous consent of the Governor General in Council in very grave emergencies; provided that this should not preclude the employment on garrison duty overseas of Indian troops at the expense of His Majesty's Government, with the consent of the Government of India. Turning now to

Criticism in India.

Attitude of the Legislative Assembly.

questions of greater detail, the Assembly recommended that matters of supply should be entrusted to a Surveyor General of Supply, who would be a civil Member of the Commander-in-Chief's Military Council; that the Commander-in-Chief and the Chief of the General Staff in India should be appointed by the Cabinet, on the nomination of the Secretary of State for India in consultation with the Government of India and the Secretary of State for War; and that Army Commanders who were officers of the Indian Army should be appointed by the Secretary of State for India on the nomination of the Government of India. It was also recommended that the Government of India should consider the expediency of reducing the size of the administrative staff at Army Headquarters; and that as soon as circumstances permit a committee, adequately representative of non-official Indian opinion, should be appointed to examine and report on the best method of giving effect to the natural rights and aspirations of the people of India to take an honourable part in the defence of their country and prepare the country for the attainment of full responsible government which was being declared to be the goal of British policy; to consider the financial capacity of India to bear the burden of military expenditure; to deal with her claim to equality of status and treatment with the self-governing Dominions; and to consider the methods of recruitment for the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army. Of equal importance with the foregoing resolutions were the expressions of a desire that Indians should be freely admitted to all arms of His Majesty's military, naval and air forces in India, and that not less than 25 per cent of the King's commissions granted every year should be given to His Majesty's Indian subjects, to start with. The Assembly further recommended that adequate facilities should be provided in India for the preliminary training of Indians to fit them to enter the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, and that as soon as funds were available, steps should be taken to establish in India a military college on the Sandhurst pattern, while steadily keeping in view the desirability of establishing in India training and educational institutions for other branches of the army. The Assembly further recommended that, in view of the need for the preparation of India to undertake the burden of self-defence as well as in the interests of economy, serious efforts should be made to organize and encourage the formation of an adequate territorial force on attractive conditions; to introduce in the Indian Army a system of short colour service, followed by a few

The Army Requirements Committee.

years in the reserve ; and to carry out gradually a prudent reduction of the ratio of the British to the Indian troops.

Significance of these Resolutions.

The importance of these resolutions lies not merely in the far-reaching character of the aspirations they voice, but also in the evidence which they afford as to the increasing interest of the educated classes in the problems of India's defence. It is perfectly true that, for several decades in India, the accusation has been freely brought against the Government that it was attempting to emasculate the people of India by depriving them of opportunities for training in the use of arms. The plain truth about this accusation is, indeed, that those who have raised it do not as a rule belong to classes which have displayed either martial inclination or martial aptitude. This afforded some reason to believe that it was raised rather as a political catch-word than as a serious attempt to bring pressure upon the administration to take action in the desired direction. In point of fact, for a good many

"Emasculation" and Defence.

years prior to the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, there has been very little real interest on the part of educated India either in army administration or in the problems of Indian defence. There was a general tendency to treat these matters as outside the sphere of ordinary political life. In part, there can be no doubt, this attitude was a heritage from the time when as a result, probably, of the apathy of Indian political leaders, and their absorption in matters which seemed to affect them more nearly, the Government of India took less trouble to explain to the public the danger of the external aggression to which the country was from time to time exposed. However this may be, the habit of mind has now changed. To some extent in consequence of the debates in the Legislative Assembly during 1921, and still more as a result of the increasing influence of the spirit which these debates expressed, there has come over the constitutional party among educated Indians a very real desire to understand the military situation of their own country and to take their own share in the solution of military problems. Government has gone far to meet this desire. Systematic attempts have been made,

Publicity.

in the first place, to break down the wall of secrecy with which army affairs had in past years been surrounded. A close touch is now maintained with the press and, through the press, with the public, in connection with all matters in which the public is interested. Further, a genuine effort has been

made to establish an Indian territorial force on a thoroughly satisfactory basis, giving due attention to those causes which had prevented the opening of the Indian Defence Force to Indians from producing an appreciable response during the war years. As a result, the Indian territorial force is beginning to develop along promising lines. In the United Provinces, enrolment is proceeding for the 1st (territorial force) battalion of the 2nd Rajput Light Infantry; and it is believed that during 1922-23 at least 2 more units can be formed in this area. In the Punjab, there are territorial force battalions of the 25th Punjabis and of the 62nd Punjab. Madras has a territorial force battalion of the 73rd Carnatic Infantry, and applications so largely exceed the establishment that proposals to form a second battalion are under consideration. A territorial force battalion has also been constituted for the 75th Infantry, and training is commencing forthwith. Two other units, a territorial force battalion of the 79th Carnatic Infantry, and a territorial force battalion of the 83rd Walajabad Light Infantry have been proposed, and it is understood that these can be completed during the coming financial year. In Bombay, there are territorial force battalions of the 103rd Maratha Light Infantry and of the Bombay Pioneers. In Burma and Bengal enrolment is proceeding for a territorial force battalion of the 70th Burman Infantry and of the 94th Russell's Infantry, respectively.

The Territorial Force.

There has also been displayed considerable activity in the formation of University Training Corps. There are battalions in Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon; companies in Lahore, Patna and Benares. The organization of these University Corps is modelled on that of the Officers' Training Corps in England. Training is conducted by means of drills at least twice weekly throughout the University terms, and of a short period in camp every year. During the year also progress has been made in the recruitment of Indian youths for King's Commissions. Considerable criticism has been directed in the public press against the small number of Indians who have succeeded in securing admission to the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. During the last two years, however, 25 cadetships have been secured, and considering some of the difficulties attending the experiment, if only on account of its novelty, the progress achieved cannot be considered negligible. The Government of India aim at giving more and more of these commissions to Indians if and when the experiment proves a success; but as was pointed out by Sir Godfrey

University Training Corps.

King's Commissions.

Fell in the Legislative Assembly, experience has yet to show how the Indian officers will care to serve under the young King's Commissioned officers; how the young men will bear the hard, dull work in peace, without which efficiency cannot be attained; and whether they are prepared to share in the drudgery as well as in the rewards which fall to the lot of their British comrades. In this connection, it is significant that the Legislative Assembly in the course of its deliberations, refused to recommend a higher percentage than 25 of the yearly King's Commissions for Indian subjects, and rejected an amendment to the effect that there should be an increasing proportion in subsequent years.

Effect of Internal Situation upon Public Opinion.

Among the causes of the growing popularity of the Territorial Force movement, and of the increasing interest in defence-questions among the educated classes, must be reckoned the uneasy condition of India during the period under review. This topic will be considered in greater detail elsewhere; and it is here only necessary to point out that riots and disorders have inspired many peaceful citizens of India with the desire to offset by military training the disadvantages under which they now labour, in times of public excitement, as compared with lawless and violent sections of the population. Particularly noteworthy in this connection was the influence exerted by the terrible Moplah rebellion in Malabar. With the political causes of this outbreak we shall deal in a subsequent chapter. We are here concerned with the military aspect, which not only brought home to thousands of persons in Southern India the practical value to themselves of the Army, but also induced many to throw their weight into the scale of law and order by joining the Territorial Force.

The Moplah outbreak.

The rebellion in Malabar was due to the influence of Khilafat agitation among the fanatically inclined Moplah inhabitants of the area. The outbreak, when it occurred, took a very formidable shape from the start. The rebels aimed at the complete overthrow of law and order and intended to establish an independent Khilafat kingdom in Malabar. They swiftly terrorised all the inhabitants of the affected areas and indulged in wholesale murders and forcible religious conversions of the local Hindu communities. With the exception of certain number of rifles and shot guns captured by them in the first few days of the rebellion from isolated police posts and Europeans, they had few firearms and were armed for the greater part with swords. But the country was eminently suited

to the guerilla tactics which they soon adopted. Close cultivation alternating with thick jungle afforded ample scope for ambushes and a safe retreat after committing depredations. The Ernad and Walluvanad Taluqs were the centre of the storm; but at one period the trouble might easily have spread considerably farther afield. The jungle-clad slopes of the Nilgiris constituted a sure refuge for hard pressed bands, from which only starvation could feasibly dislodge them.

Course of the Rebellion.

About the middle of August the situation in Malabar became distinctly serious, and additional troops were moved to Calicut. On the 20th of August open rebellion broke out at Tirurangadi at the conclusion of a search for arms conducted by the Police assisted by troops. A small detachment of troops was isolated at Malapuram and the troops at Tirurangadi had to fight their way back. On the 26th of August the detachment at Malapuram was relieved by columns from Bangalore and Calicut.

The rebellion had now spread over most of the Ernad and Walluvanad Taluqs and the rebels were indulging in wholesale murder, arson and forcible conversions of Hindus. Every effort was made in the first instance to cope with the situation by means of the troops available in the Madras district. A modified form of martial law was introduced and a special force of armed police was raised. In the initial phases the Auxiliary Force both individually and collectively proved of great value.

Up to the beginning of October, operations were mainly confined to localising the rebellion by distributing garrisons in convenient centres and dealing with rebel bands, whenever they could be discovered, by mobile columns. These efforts were up to a point successful and the spread of the rebellion into the Wynad and to the north of the Beypore river was checked. On the other hand the large numbers of rebels in the affected areas; the difficulty of the country; and the fact that either from inclination or by reason of terrorisation the whole countryside was openly hostile, made it imperative to provide reinforcements to deal with the situation.

Its suppression.

By the middle of October all these reinforcements, totalling four battalions, one pack battery, a section of armoured cars and the necessary ancillary services, had arrived, and a severer form of martial law had been introduced—a

factor which greatly facilitated the handling of the situation by the Military authorities. It now became possible to conduct a drive right through the affected area. The result of this drive was at first disappointing, as the rebels for the greater part evaded combat and took to the hills. On the conclusion of the drive, however, the whole area was divided into five sections. To each of these sections a battalion was allotted for the purpose of dealing with all rebels within its section, and it was soon found that the back of the rebellion had been broken. Rebels began to surrender in large numbers, and after being blockaded in the hills either came down to fight or gave themselves up. By the end of the year the situation was well in hand, and as a matter of fact, by the 25th of February 1922, it had become possible to withdraw martial law and all the extra troops employed with the exception of one battalion.

Conduct of the Troops.

The troops had an extremely difficult duty to perform; and the way in which they did their duty was beyond all praise. Co-operation between the civil and military authorities was throughout most harmonious, and contributed largely to the comparative shortness of the time which it took to suppress the rebellion. An idea of the fierceness of some of the fighting may be gained from the night attack at Pandikad, on which occasion a company of Gurkhas was rushed at dawn by a horde of fanatics who inflicted some 60 casualties on the Gurkhas and were only beaten off after losing some 250 killed. Throughout the campaign, casualties among our troops totalled 43 killed and 126 wounded; while the Moplahs lost over 3,000 in killed alone—a fact which testifies eloquently to the pitch of fanaticism to which they had been roused. The measures adopted by Government for the suppression of this formidable rebellion were generally approved, and provoked few complaints even in the more violent section of the Indian press. There was however one distressing occurrence, namely, the death by asphyxiation on the night of November 19th, 1921, of some 70 prisoners who were being conveyed by train from the disturbed areas to Bellary for incarceration. This incident was made the subject of a special enquiry, the report of which is still under consideration; and meanwhile compassionate allowances were made to the families and dependents of the unfortunate rebels. On the whole it is fair to say that the terrible Moplah outbreak brought home to many people the ultimate dependence of law and order upon the military arm, and demonstrated to them in a most practical manner the value of a loyal, efficient, and well-disciplined army.

Education of Public Opinion.

Perhaps one of the most encouraging symptoms of the year 1921, from the point of view of army administration, has been the readiness on the part of certain members of the Legislative Assembly to devote the utmost care and attention to a painstaking investigation of the problems of the Indian Army. This fact cannot fail to result, in the long run, in the education of Indian opinion to an appreciation of the true facts of the problems of India's defence. The Committee appointed in accordance with the resolution of the Legislative Assembly, already mentioned, to investigate these problems contained a substantial proportion of elected Indian members. Its sessions excited considerable interest, and there can be little doubt that the decisions of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Committee of Imperial Defence to consider its recommendations will be awaited with the utmost eagerness.

The well-being of the soldier.

Throughout the period under review, much attention has been given to the well-being of Indian officers and soldiers. During his recent visit to India, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales opened a military college at Dehra Dun, which is to prepare candidates for admission to Sandhurst on the lines of an English public school. His Royal Highness also laid the foundation stone at Delhi of a college, to be known as Kitchener College, which is intended to provide education of a High School type for sons of Indian officers. For the sons of Indian soldiers, education is to be provided at the King George's Royal Indian Military Schools, for two of which, at Aurangabad Serai and Jullundur, His Royal Highness laid foundation stones early in 1922. Further machinery has been instituted for the systematic enlightenment of the sepoy as to his duties both as a soldier and as a citizen. During 1921, the formation of an Indian Army educational corps was sanctioned, and before long it is hoped that the influence of the personnel trained at the Belgaum School of Education will make itself felt in units. As a result of these increased facilities, a higher standard of education will shortly be demanded from the sepoy, in the attainment of which not only the trained experts of the Indian Army educational corps but also the regimental personnel will be expected to co-operate. At first, progress will naturally be slow, and much discretion will be left to Commanding Officers regarding the working of the new scheme. But a few years of steady effort on these lines, undertaken with good will and intelligence, should considerably enhance the civic value of the Indian soldier. Corresponding progress has also been made in the new system of education

for the British army in India. The principle that regimental officers and non-commissioned officers are now responsible for the educational training of their men has been generally recognized, and much good work is being done in units by these means. While there is ample scope for the trained personnel of the Army Educational Corps to guide and supplement the work of the regimental officer, the need for decentralisation in the actual teaching can only be adequately met by the efforts of the latter. The co-operation indeed of regimental officers in educational work assumes a new importance, in view of the threatened reduction in numbers of the Army Educational Corps through financial stringency.

As has already been pointed out, that which may be called the key-note of the Esher Committee's Report, namely, the application to the problems of the army in India of the "General Staff Idea", has fallen discordantly upon Indian ears. This was partly due to the unfortunate estrangement of feeling between the administration and the educated classes through causes partly external to India and partly domestic, as will be explained in the next chapter. It would be unfair, however, to exclude from reckoning the lamentable strain which had been placed upon the ties of affection between India and certain other parts of the Commonwealth through a succession of unfortunate occurrences.

Immigration.

The condition and fortunes of Indian settlers in various parts of the Empire still continue to excite grave anxiety. The principal points at issue, it may be explained, are throughout the Empire, the right of franchise and the conditions under which Indians can immigrate and obtain and retain 'Domicile'; and in Africa further, the rights of Indians to hold land: to enjoy trading facilities: to escape from compulsory segregation—in other words to be treated as rational human beings. For some years, the denial of these rights, either wholly or in part, by certain Dominions and Colonies, has been the cause of much heart-burning to India. The efforts of the Government of India to remedy such grievances have been at once sustained and unwearying: while progress towards a more satisfactory condition of affairs, if slow, has been steady. It will be remembered that as a result of the arguments of India's representatives in the Imperial War Conferences of 1917 and 1918, the so-called "Reciprocity Resolution" was adopted by the Mother Country and the Dominions. This Resolution while affirming the right of each community of the Commonwealth to control, by immigration restrictions, the composition of its own population, recommended that facilities should be given to

Indians for visits and temporary residence; that Indians domiciled abroad should be permitted to import their wives and minor children; and that the removal of the civic and social disabilities to which those Indians were subjected should be given early consideration. Canada and Australia took early steps to put this resolution into effect. In New Zealand and Newfoundland, it may be noticed, resident Indians have never been subjected to any disabilities; but the former Government, while endeavouring to adhere to the terms of the Reciprocity Resolution, has subsequently passed an Immigration Act which may be used to restrict further Indian immigration. The main trouble lies, however, not in these parts of the Empire, where the number of Indians is comparatively small; but in South Africa, and also, it must regretfully be emphasised, in certain Colonies under the direct administration of His Majesty's Government. Despite the "Reciprocity Resolution," the position of Indians domiciled in these localities still remains the reverse of satisfactory. In South Africa, where the Indian population is numerous, a decision of the Transvaal Provincial Court early in 1920 had endangered certain rights which, it was hoped, had been secured beyond dispute by the agreement arrived at in 1916 between General Smuts and Mr Gandhi. It should be understood that no difficulties arise in the Orange River Province, where Asiatic Immigration is not allowed, or in the Cape Province, where Cecil Rhodes' policy of "equal rights for every civilised man" prevails. The trouble occurs in the Transvaal, where Indians are politically helpless; and in Natal, where, although they possess the municipal franchise, their position has lately been the object of grave attack. In certain Colonies also conditions are far from satisfactory.

Indians abroad.

In East Africa, disputes had arisen between European and Indian Colonists concerning proposals for racial segregation in residential and commercial areas. In Tanganyika territory, it was feared that similar difficulties would occur; while in Fiji, labour troubles culminating in violence led to the suspicion among certain people in India that the local authorities were hostile towards Indian labour. In short, throughout an alarming number of regions of the British Empire, Indians have found themselves exposed to difficulties and disabilities not only of themselves intolerable, but of a kind which threaten, by lowering their country's status in the eyes of the Empire and of the world, to prejudice her advance along the road leading to Responsible Government. It is difficult to exaggerate the potentialities of such a condition of affairs, which strikes at the very root of those ideas of

justice, fairplay and freedom upon which the solidarity of the British Commonwealth primarily depends. The national consciousness of India, quickened by the part she played in the War, by the new ideas of democracy and national rights which triumphed with the Allies, by her position as an original Member of the League of Nations, and by the advance which she has made in the last few months towards responsible government, cannot accept with equanimity the subjection of British Indians within the British Empire to disabilities of a humiliating character.

Efforts of Government: South Africa.

During the year 1921, as a result of the untiring efforts of the Government of India, considerable victories were gained not merely in details, but also in certain broad matters of principle. The able presentation of India's case by Sir Benjamin Robertson before the Asiatic Enquiry Commission in South Africa created a considerable impression, and went far both to offset the anti-Indian propaganda of the self-styled South Africans' League and to expose the fragility of the foundations upon which the popular conceptions of an "Asiatic Menace" really rested. When the Commission reported, it was seen that the representatives of the Government of India, while failing to achieve all that had been hoped, had undoubtedly effected an alteration of the position in favour of the domiciled Indian community. The Commission did, indeed, recommend retention of the Transvaal Law 3 of 1885, prohibiting the ownership of land by Asiatics; but there is to be no compulsory segregation. In the Transvaal and Natal, a system of voluntary separation is recommended under which Municipalities may be empowered to set aside separate residential and trading areas wherein Asiatics should be encouraged, but not compelled, to reside. Unfortunately, in respect of Natal, the Commission was of the opinion that there would be no great hardship in confining to the coast belt the right of Indians to acquire and own land. Dealing with the trading question, the Commission recommended the enactment of a uniform license law for the Union, or, failing this, a consolidating Act of Parliament, which should apply to all trading licenses, whether held by "natives", Europeans or Asiatics. The suggestion of Sir Benjamin Robertson, that if the Union Government accepted the need of a more constructive policy towards Indians, the administration of Asiatic affairs should be entrusted to a responsible official enjoying the confidence of the Indian community, was favourably endorsed. The Commission went further, strongly recommending

the appointment of an officer whose business it should be to secure full statistical information on all matters specially affecting the domiciled Indians, to keep in touch with them, to safeguard their interests, and to give a ready ear to their complaints. The Government of India after considering the report of the Commission, earnestly protested against the withdrawal from Indians of the right to acquire lands in the uplands of Natal ; and on other issues also represented the Indian case strongly to the Union Government. It may be hoped that these representations will achieve at least some measure of success. An augury of better things is to be found in the recent veto, by His Excellency the Governor General of South Africa, of two Natal Ordinances which seemed likely to endanger still further the position of Indians. Thus it will be seen that while the situation of Indians in South Africa still remains far from satisfactory, something at least has been accomplished towards securing a favourable consideration of the justice of their claims. In this connection the achievements of the Indian Representatives at the Imperial Conference of 1921, as will shortly be apparent, cannot fail to exercise an influence which may, it is hoped, ultimately prove decisive.

In Colonies.

Towards the disabilities of Indians resident in British Colonies, as distinguished from British Dominions, the attitude of the Government of India has from the first been uncompromising. There can be no justification in a Crown Colony or Protectorate for assigning to British Indians a status inferior to that of any class of His Majesty's subjects. Unfortunately, in face of the hostility of the "white" settlers in certain localities, it is easier to press this standpoint upon the Home authorities than to secure its translation into practice on the spot. As a result of constitutional changes, unfortunately coincident with inter-racial animosities which raged in Kenya during 1920, the position of Indians resident in this part of East Africa became most difficult. A declared policy of racial disability and racial segregation, in addition to threatening large and well-established vested interests, bitterly outraged Indian national sentiment. Against this the Government of India vigorously protested in a detailed despatch to the Home Government, which raised all the questions of franchise, land-ownership, and segregation concerning which controversy had arisen. In consequence, pending the settlement of the franchise question, upon which everything else really depends, certain interim measures beneficial to the Indian community have been introduced. The Governor of Kenya has announced his

intention of nominating four Indians in place of two to his Legislative Council and of accepting an Indian Member upon his Executive Council. Questions of franchise, segregation and land-ownership are at present still undecided.

The position of Indians in Uganda and Tanganyika was also unsatisfactory at the beginning of the period under review.

In Uganda the root of the trouble was the application to this territory, without the previous knowledge of the Government of India, of Lord Milner's Kenya decisions. A strong protest was entered by the Indian authorities against the denial of the principle of equal representation to Indians, it being urged that the East African decisions were generally inapplicable to Uganda. Indeed, conditions differ very materially in the two Colonies, since Uganda has no elective Legislative Council, no elected Municipal Council, and no uplands to which "White" settlers can put forward exclusive claims. The extension from Kenya to Uganda of the Indian controversy is most unfortunate; since but for the racial issues raised by the Kenya decisions, the question of separate residential areas for different races would probably have been settled amicably by mutual consent. The Government of India asked for an assurance that disabilities to which Uganda Indians had not hitherto been subject, would not now be imposed upon them. But up to the moment of writing, no decision has been arrived at upon certain aspects of the question. In Tanganyika, for the administration of which Great Britain holds a mandate from the League of Nations, the position of Indians has lately given rise to some anxiety. Fears were expressed as to the possibility of an administrative union with Kenya. The Government of India accordingly, when addressing the Home authorities on the subject, asked that adequate safeguards should be granted against the development of an administrative system which might be apathetic or even hostile to legitimate Indian aspirations. They also expressed the hope that no obstacles would be placed in the way of Indians wishing to acquire land in Tanganyika on the same footing as the nationals of other Members of the League of Nations. It is satisfactory to notein this connection that large numbers of Indians have taken the fullest advantage of the facilities afforded for purchasing ex-enemy properties at Dar-es-Salam—a fact which seems to afford a useful precedent for an equitable solution of the same problem in other parts of the Empire. In the course of the year, assurances were received from Lord Milner that Indian settlers in the territory would be treated on a footing of complete equa-

lity with other settlers, and that no discrimination would be made in their disfavour. In New Guinea and Samoa, for the administration of which mandates have been conferred upon Australia and New Zealand, the position of Indians has also been doubtful. But the Governments of Australia and New Zealand have promised full consideration to India's point of view, in the administration of the immigration laws which they have applied to the mandated territories. The Commonwealth Government has now given an assurance that such classes of British Indian subjects as are likely to come to New Guinea, will enjoy substantially the same rights both as to entry and residence as fall to the lot of other British subjects.

Indentured Labour.

Closely connected with the whole problem of Indians resident abroad is the question of emigration. The assisted emigration of unskilled workers from India, has for some years been forbidden, save in the case of Ceylon, and the Straits Settlements. A Bill at present under the consideration of a Select Committee will apply to these territories also, which were excluded from the scope of the Act of 1908. In future, the assisted emigration of unskilled workers, whether under agreement or not, will be forbidden except with the consent of the Indian Legislature. The emigration of skilled workers will be permitted, as at present, subject to certain restrictions. But the Government of India will have the power to prohibit emigration to any specified country when there is reason to believe that conditions are unsatisfactory. This protective policy, necessitated by the unfortunate experiences of the past, has exposed certain Colonies to considerable economic difficulties. Mention was made in last year's Report of the arrival in India of non-official delegations from Fiji and British Guiana to investigate the possibility of introducing a scheme of assisted emigration. A Committee of the Indian Legislature, to whom the matter was referred, declined to make any definite recommendations, without the despatch of emissaries to undertake an examination of local conditions. In accordance with this expression of opinion, two deputations have left India to visit the Colonies in question. It may be noted that considerable satisfaction has been caused by an extension of the terms of reference of the Fiji deputation, which empowers it to enquire whether land suitable for settlement by deserving Indian officers and men is available.

Repatriation.

The labour troubles in Fiji last year produced an unexpected result in India during the course of the period under review. It will be remembered that

as from January 1920, the Government of Fiji cancelled
indentures of Indian labourers, while arrangements were made for
early repatriation of such of them as desired to return to their
country. In consequence, large numbers left Fiji. Many arrived
India comparatively destitute; while others, who were colonial bor
whose long residence in the Colonies had rendered them unfit for
old social conditions, found themselves utterly out of place—ind
foreigners—in their own country. Returned emigrants from other C
nies also, being in difficulties owing to the unfavourable economic s
tion in India, strongly desired to return to the territories from w
they had come. During the early part of 1921 from all parts of In
there was a steady drift of destitute and distressed labourers in
direction of Calcutta, where they hoped to find ships to take them b
to the Colonies in which they were certain of work and livelihood.
the earnest representation of the Fiji Government, and after full c
sultation with representative public men, arrangements were made
relax the emigration restriction in favour of those Indians who w
born and had property in any Colony, as well as of such near relati
as they desired to take with them. Admirable work was done am
these distressed persons by the Emigrants Friendly Services Commit
which had been formed primarily to deal with the applications of
patriated Indians desirous of returning to Fiji. The Government
India gave discretion to this Committee to permit persons who co
prove that they had been in Fiji to return there if they so desired.
Government of Fiji, on its part, encouraged by an improvement
local labour conditions, stimulated the return of these unfortun
people by giving them assisted passages. Similar steps were taken
the Government of British Guiana, when the situation was explai
to them. From the Government of Trinidad and Surinam no offe
assisted passages was received, with the result that the burden of ca
for persons desirous of return to these places has fallen upon In
The Legislative Assembly has made a grant of £1,000 for the mainten
of these labourers, until such time as they are able to find work
settle down in India.

The Imperial Conference of 1921.

In view of all these varied difficulties, primarily caused by uncerta
as to the rights and status of India's natio
overseas, it may well be imagined that
meeting of the Imperial Conference of
was regarded by Indian opinion with an anxiety which even dom
distractions were powerless to supersede. The Conference before w

India's claims were to be pressed, is no longer the purely consultative body of pre-war days. It partakes far more of the nature of an Imperial Cabinet, since it is now a mechanism for arriving at a united understanding and concerted action in affairs of moment to the Empire as a whole. In other words the Imperial Conference is no longer the tentative embodiment of an academic ideal; but has become a semi-executive body of great and growing importance. Fortunately enough India's representatives were eminently fitted to urge her case with strength, moderation and dignity. In addition to Mr. E. S. Montagu, whose reputation as a friend of India is acknowledged by almost every shade of political opinion in the country, the Indian representatives included the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri—shortly afterwards elevated to the Privy Council—and His Highness the Maharao of Kutch. Both the utterances and the personality of the Delegation created an impression eminently favourable to the cause they advocated. India's claim to equality of treatment for her nationals derived added force when supported by Mr. Sastri's impressive eloquence and the shrewd sense of his princely colleague. The upshot of the discussions upon the position of Indians abroad marked a further stage in the vindication of India's claims for the civic rights of her nationals domiciled in other parts of the Empire.

The Imperial Conference, while reaffirming the principle that every community of the British Commonwealth should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population, recognised that "there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal Member of the Empire, and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire". The Conference therefore expressed its opinion that "in the interests of the solidarity of the Commonwealth, it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised". This opinion was also endorsed explicitly by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who pronounced it the only ideal which the British Empire could set before itself. Such a principle, Mr. Winston Churchill continued, has to be very carefully and gradually applied; but he hoped to find means of overcoming difficulties in its application. The importance of this pronouncement needs no emphasis in view of what has already been said of the position in Kenya and elsewhere. Unfortunately the representatives of South Africa expressed their inability to accept the resolution. Their refusal, disappointing as it was, in view of the number of Indian settlers adversely affected, cannot be considered as in any way final. The Resolution having been accepted by five out of the six States represented at the Conference

the position of the dissentient sixth is bound to weaken by the mere efflux of time. Moreover the fact that direct negotiations relating to this matter will henceforth be conducted between the Government of India and the Union Government, is the best guarantee first that the question will not be suffered to rest; and secondly, that from the broadly Imperial standpoint, the principle at stake is taken as settled.

In estimating the importance of the 1921 Imperial Conference, it must be remembered that representatives of India played a part exactly corresponding with that of the Dominions representatives. Indeed, for the purpose at least of the Conference, India achieved full Dominion status in her Imperial relations, thereby anticipating her acquisition of this status in domestic affairs. This change is explicit in the Resolution already quoted, which, besides embodying the readiness of the Dominions' representatives—with the exception of the South Africans—to accept the principle of citizenship for Indians domiciled within their boundaries, carefully recognises India's new status in the Commonwealth, and her claim to enjoy the rights pertaining thereto.

CHAPTER II.

The Early History of the Non-Co-operation Movement.

Importance of the Non-Co-operation Movement.

In the course of two successive Reports, mention has been made of the inception and early progress of the movement associated with the name of Mr. Gandhi. We saw how this remarkable individual came to the forefront of Indian politics through his inauguration of a campaign of passive resistance against the so-called Rowlatt Bill: how his project, later described by its author as a "Himalayan blunder," supplied the spark from which sprang the Punjab conflagration of 1919. Mention was also made of the fatal legacies left by this tragedy—embittered racial feeling, wounded national pride—which in conjunction with economic stress and postwar uneasiness, darkened the political firmament of India during the years 1919 and 1920. We noticed moreover that the latter year witnessed the introduction of yet another complicating factor into the disturbed public life of the country—the outburst of Muslim sentiment against the threatened partition of the Ottoman Empire. It was in this atmosphere of excited passions that Mr. Gandhi launched his movement of non-co-operation, the early stages of which were briefly described in the Report dealing with the condition of India in 1920. During the year 1921, this movement attracted considerable public attention: was the object of much acute analysis: assumed many characteristics of an unexpected kind. Materials are thus available for the presentation of an account, more complete than has hitherto been possible, of its precepts, practice, and results. In view, then, of the importance of the part it played in Indian affairs throughout the year 1921, no apology seems necessary for explaining in some little detail its rise and progress, even though certain aspects of these may fall somewhat outside the period immediately under review.

Ethical Basis of Non-Co-operation.

It must be realised that the whole non-co-operation movement possessed in the beginning, a definitely ethical basis, deriving at once its impetus and its characteristics from the personality of its origi-

nator, who will probably be recognised in future ages as an eminent disciple of the late Count Tolstoi. Indeed, it is necessary to recapitulate a portion of Mr. Gandhi's life in order to exhibit the principal clue, alike to his personality and to the nature of the non-co-operation movement as he originally projected it. For, apart from such an explanation, it is impossible to understand how Mr. Gandhi, with his spiritual fervour, has gradually become involved, to the infinite damage of his country and himself, in a movement the effect of which has been to lead unhappy India dangerously near the borders of anarchy. There is reason to believe that the extraordinary number and variety of programmes which he devised for the non-co-operation movement were in their essence designed, quite honestly and in perfect good faith, to obtain for it a measure of popular support such as the inherent intentions of its designer—which was no more and no less than national regeneration after the Tolstoyan model—would probably have failed, had they been manifest, to secure. Like his master, with whom he corresponded, Mr. Gandhi has long believed that modern civilisation, as the term is generally understood, represents a great deviation from the true nature of man: that the vast social and economic structure which has been built upon that increasing mastery over natural forces, resulting from the scientific discoveries of the 19th century, is wholly bad; that it is a burden upon the individual man, stifling him, crushing him down, subverting his noblest nature and aspirations. Mr. Gandhi has proceeded to deduce the conclusions that Western education develops slave mentality; that doctors deepen degradation; that hospitals propagate sin; that Law Courts and legal practitioners unman those who resort to them; that Railways merely carry man away from his Maker; that Parliament is a costly toy; in short, that modern civilisation needs to be eradicated like a fell disease. The sole end of rightly directed human activity, he asserts, is the freedom of the individual soul. Government of the self, rather than "Self-Government"—philosophic anarchy, rather than constitutional progress: natural and primitive simplicity, rather than economic, political and industrial advance—these are the goals towards which mankind must press. Further, Mr. Gandhi believes that the only manner in which this desirable consummation can be attained, lies in the mastery of spiritual force over material might. Passive resistance, as practised in England by Non-Conformist opponents of the Education Act, convinced him of the power of this weapon to achieve ends of the kind which

Mr. Gandhi's opinions.

he himself had in view. In South Africa, where he fought long and strenuously for the relief of the outstanding grievances of his domiciled countrymen, he proceeded to organise a passive resistance movement on a scale hitherto unknown. Leaving South Africa he returned to India with the intention of employing, on a still larger scale, and for still more comprehensive ends, the device which he had tested in South Africa. Cherishing the Tolstoyan simplicity of life as his ideal, Mr. Gandhi found much in India to amend. He believed his countrymen to be suffering from spiritual and mental torpor, induced by the hypnotism of Western civilisation. He saw them bitterly divided by the great Hindu Muslim cleavage ; he saw them, as he imagined, pursuing the Will o' the Wisp of constitutional progress. Primarily, there can be no doubt, it was to rescue his country from the degradation into which he conceived it had fallen, that Mr. Gandhi projected his remarkable movement. Many of his countrymen, while profoundly admiring his devotion and his selflessness, foresaw the disastrous effects which any such enterprise must produce, if applied to the heterogeneous peoples, races, and languages which make India what she is. Indeed the late Mr. Gokhale went so far as to bind Mr. Gandhi by a promise that he would refrain from launching his scheme until he had thoroughly satisfied himself of its practicability. Accordingly, not until after Mr. Gokhale's lamented death did Mr. Gandhi devote himself once more to exploring the chances of success which were offered by an enterprise so hazardous. The War supervened ; Mr. Gandhi was engaged in many activities of a social character ; and only with the coming of the year 1919 did he seriously resume his interrupted project. He launched his *Satyagraha* or passive resistance movement against the " Rowlatt Bill " ; and, though momentarily daunted by the appalling consequences, set himself with unflinching determination to prepare the ground for a renewed effort. The experience of 1919 seems to have taught him one thing and one thing only, namely that the rock upon which his scheme was in gravest danger of splitting was the readiness of the masses of his countrymen, when stirred by deep emotion, to resort to brutal and unreasoning violence. Accordingly, between the summer of 1919 and the autumn of 1920, he devoted himself to the ceaseless inculcation, among all those to whom his influence could penetrate, of the doctrine of non-violence. Only when he allowed himself to be convinced, against the opinion of the wisest and most prudent in India, that this work was accomplished, did he

Their Application to India.

Necessity for Non-Violence.

prepare to launch out upon the movement of national regenerati
which he had for so long contemplated.

There was, however, a further difficulty to be surmounted. By h
service in South Africa; by his orthodox austerity of life; and by t
stress he constantly laid upon the inherent perfection of the caste system
Mr. Gandhi had already acquired among his Hindu co-religionists th
mantle of authority with which India traditionally loves to envelop
Saint. For the European critic must remember that, every Hindu, n
matter how westernised, ever retains in his heart of hearts a reveren
for asceticism. Even educated gentlemen w
play a prominent part in public life, cheris
before them the ideal of worldly renunciati
and retirement to the practice of individual austerities. It w
thus readily be understood that Mr. Gandhi's reputation as a self-
ascetic constituted of itself a claim to leadership among Hindus. Inde
his insistence upon the supremacy of soul force in opposition to materi
might; his advocacy of national fasting as a means of influencing Gover
ment; his conviction of the irresistible power of passive resistance, ha
all three their logical basis in the ancient Hindu doctrine of Dhar
that is the application of moral pressure to one person through physi
sacrifices voluntarily endured by another. But if he was to lead h
countrymen to the haven of his desire, he must first bridge over t
gulf dividing the two great communities; he must first unite both
effort directed towards some common programme. For this purpose,
was above all things necessary that he, an "Unbeliever," should acqu
among the Muhammadans an authority corresponding, in some meas
at least, with that which he enjoyed among the Hindus. It is not the
fore strange to find that from the time of its inception, the non-co-ope
tion movement was given by Mr. Gandhi a d
tinctive Muhammadan bent. His opportun
arose from the introduction, into the cauld
of Indian politics, of an element more violent than any yet present
that seething mixture — the outburst of Muslim feeling consequ
upon the publication of the draft Treaty of Sevres.

Mr. Gandhi and the Hindus.

Mr. Gandhi and the Muhammadans.

As to the ultimate origin of the intensive agitation in India direc
towards the modification of the Turkish Peace terms, it is not easy
speak with certainty. In its inception, it appears to have origin
among a certain section of advanced Muhammadan opinion whose v
can hardly be described as Pan-Islamic and Pro-Turkish. Littl

little this section had succeeded in arousing the bulk of the Mahommedan community of India, uneducated as well as educated, to a lively if nebulous apprehension that the Christian powers of the world were about to perpetrate oppression of some kind upon Islam. This apprehension was considerably strengthened by the militant tone of certain sections of the English, French and American Press regarding the desirability of settling the Near Eastern question once and for all in the most drastic manner. The fact that Indian Muslims felt they had contributed greatly to the defeat of the Turks, naturally strengthened their desire that the terms of peace should accord with their own predilections. Here again, the long delay which elapsed between the Armistice and the announcement of the draft peace terms with Turkey was responsible for infinite harm. In the course of this period, religious intolerance, both Christian and Muslim, found full expression in the Press of the countries concerned. The result of a demand by influential sections of English and American opinion, that the Turks should be expelled from Constantinople and reduced to the status of a fourth rate power, was to strengthen considerably the hold which the Left Wing Party of Muslims in India were obtaining upon the bulk of their co-religionists. Fresh massacres in Armenia during the early months of the year 1920 called forth a passionate protest from Christian organisations both in Europe and in the United States. Anti-Turkish feeling in the West naturally produced its reaction in India, and aided in accomplishing what the small Pan-Islamic section of Indian Musalmans had long attempted with but moderate success to achieve, namely, the consolidation of the whole of Indian Muslim opinion, Shiah as well as Sunni, into a united front for the support of Turkey's cause.

Origin of the Khilafat Movement.

The seriousness of this movement did not escape the notice of the authorities, who did all that was humanly possible to allay the rising tide of religious feeling. But the extreme Pan-Islamic views of the leaders, combined with the unpopularity of Government consequent upon the repression of the Punjab disorders, to render all these efforts nugatory. In vain did the Government of India express its sympathy for the sentiments of the Muslims; in vain did it assure them that it was pressing their views upon His Majesty's Government. They had no desire to listen to reason; did not leaders of their own faith assure them that Islam was in danger? The restoration of Turkey to her full pre-war status; the re-imposition of her yoke upon the emancipated Arabs and Armenians; the restitution of

Its progress.

Palestine, Syria, Thrace, and the Dardanelles—these were some of
demands put forward with the unarguable finality of an ultimatum.

Such was the situation of which Mr. Gandhi took advantage. W
then he saw in the Khilafat movement and seized upon a lever for
overthrow of "civilised" society—as is maintained by certain of th
who are most conscious of the ruin he has wrought on India; whe
his own philosophic idealism hailed a kin
spirit in the uncompromising, reason-p
dogmatism of the Khilafat extremists; or w

Mr. Gandhi's oppor-
tunity.

that his undoubted passion for Hindu-Muslim unity led him to emb
as he himself said "such an opportunity of uniting Hindus and Moh
medans as would not arise in a hundred years," may well be a ma
for dispute. An impartial survey of his activities, both previous
subsequent, suggests that all these motives may have been present
his mind. The fact at least is undisputed that he promptly made
Khilafat cause his own, accepted every demand—including the
reasonable—of the Khilafat party, and henceforward found in
Muslims the fighting arm of his campaign against the Governm
which he stigmatised as "Satanic."

It was in the Khilafat Conference of Delhi in November 1919
Mr. Gandhi first proposed his non-co-opera
remedy for the "Khilafat wrong." He
suggested that if the British Government

His Alliance with the
Khilafatists.

the Government of India remained deaf to the representations of t
Indian Muslims who desired the restoration of the Ottoman Empi
its political and religious status, it might be necessary for all In
whether Hindus or Mohammadans, to sever their connection with a p
so deaf to the claims of things spiritual. A month later, with st
inconsistency, Mr. Gandhi spoke, at the Amritsar Congress, in favo
working the Reformed Constitution foreshadowed in the Governme
India Act of 1919. But this phase did not last long. To the conste
tion of many of his co-religionists, he struck up a working alliance
Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, the two Pan-Islamic extremists who
being interned during the War years for their open championship
cause of Turkey, and persistent intrigues with the enemies of the Em
had recently been released by Royal Clemency. He renounced
adhesion to the Reforms, set himself seriously to execute his long-de
project of applying non-co-operation to India, and placed in the
front of his aims, not the winning of Swaraj—whether of his own

any other type—but the satisfaction of Muslim opinion in the matter of the Khilafat.

Foreshadowings of Non-Co-operation.

Between January and March 1920, the scheme for a non-co-operation campaign was adumbrated in the columns of Mr. Gandhi's organ, "Young India." By the latter month, the programme had acquired a certain maturity. Subject to the overmastering consideration of non-violence, Mr. Gandhi advocated incessant agitation in carrying out certain prescribed activities. There was to be a complete cessation of business on the 19th March 1920, which was to be observed as a day of national mourning on behalf of Turkey. Persons holding high office in the Government were to resign as a protest against the injustice done to Muhammadan feelings. On the other hand, Mr. Gandhi denounced the idea of boycotting British goods—since boycott was, he said, a form of violence—and he declared that no appeal should be made to soldiers or policemen to resign from Government service. Two months later, he fixed four progressive stages for the execution of the non-co-operation campaign; the first was to be the resignation of titles and honorary offices; the second, the withdrawal from all Government service save Police and Military; the third, the withdrawal from the Police and the Military; the fourth, the suspension of payment of taxes to the State. Now in June 1920, it would seem, Mr. Gandhi became conscious that his projected movement was likely to lose part of its support owing to the exclusively Musalman complexion which he had assigned to its goal. Accordingly he extended its scope to cover, in addition to the satisfaction of Muslim opinion upon the Khilafat question, the satisfaction of Hindu opinion in the matter of the Punjab.

Extension of the scope.

Potency of the "Punjab Grievance."

This he was enabled to do with great effect since educated Indian opinion had been deeply stirred by the Report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Congress to collect evidence relating to the Punjab disturbances. While this document, ex parte as it was, seemed to many people incendiary, it had produced a considerable effect upon the public mind. In particular it had raised to a great height the popular expectations of what the official Report of Lord Hunter's Committee would contain in the way of censure upon the Punjab officials and the Punjab Government. But when that Report was published on May 28th, 1920, the more extravagant of these expectations, as was pointed out in "India in 1920," remained unfulfilled. Even the comments of

His Majesty's Government, repudiating in solemn terms the doctrine of employing force for producing a "moral effect," expressing profound regret for the loss of life occasioned by the disturbances, and strong disapproval of certain specified instances of improper punishments and orders, failed to assuage the bitter mortification of educated India. Indeed, the effect of these pronouncements was largely offset by the tenor of the debates in the House of Commons and the House of Lords when the matter came up for review. In these circumstances, many Indians began to despair of obtaining redress for what they regarded as a deep injury to their country's honour and repute. To such men, Mr. Gandhi's movement seemed to offer the only honourable alternative to a hopeless resort to physical force. Standing, then, in some sort as the champion of the East against the West, of India against Britain, Mr. Gandhi found it easy to rise upon the tide of Hindu and Muslim resentment, and to take full advantage of the wave of Indian nationalist feeling which had been stimulated and intensified by appreciation of the principles for which the Allies fought in the War. Discontents of many kinds, social, political, and above all, economic, swelled the ranks of his followers. In vain did Lord Chelmsford's Government demonstrate conclusively the chimerical nature of the projected movement; in vain did tried and experienced leaders of views so varied as those associated with the names of Mr. Tilak, Mr. (now Sir) Surendranath Banerjea, Mr. (now the Right Hon'ble) Srinivasa Sastri, raise their voice against it. Mr. Gandhi had seized the moment of moments; he had struck the imagination of the more emotional of his countrymen, and was shortly to put this theories to the test of practice. Thus extended, Mr. Gandhi's movement acquired yet another programme—the programme, in fact, which is commonly regarded as its starting point. This included the surrender of all titles and honours; refusal to participate in Government loans; boycott of Law Courts, of Government Schools, of Reformed Councils; concentration upon *Swadeshi* goods.

Mr. Gandhi's Programme again extended.

Almost simultaneously with the publication of this programme in July 1920, the aim of the non-co-operation movement was extended to cover "Swaraj." To this, as he has plainly said on more than one occasion, Mr. Gandhi attaches no special value. He carefully refrained from assigning to it a precise meaning. It will be apparent as this narrative proceeds, that this indefiniteness, while a rock of offence to certain sections of his followers, was from another standpoint his chiefest strength; since the convenient word "Swaraj" was given a variety of interpretations

To some it represented Mr. Gandhi's own ideal of Government of the Self: others read into it Dominion Home Rule: to another party it represented complete independence: yet others interpreted it as Muslim supremacy. Above all, to the masses, it shortly became synonymous with the commencement of a golden age, when prices should fall, when taxation should cease, when each man should be free from all State fetters, free to do that which he would with his own—and his wealthier neighbour's—property. Certain of those possible interpretations were endorsed by Mr. Gandhi himself on various occasions during the ensuing twelve months. At one time, he explained Swaraj as Parliamentary Government, whether within or without the Empire: at another time, as Dominion Home Rule. On a third occasion, he stated that it meant the universal employment of the spinning wheel: yet again, he identified it with the triumph of the Khilafat party. A like inconsistency governs his statements as to the date at which the desirable consummation was to be achieved. He foreshadowed it successively for September 1st, 1921, October 1st, 1921, October 30th, 1921, December 31st, 1921—until finally, at the end of the period we are now reviewing, he pessimistically declared that he could fix " no date."

The Magic of "Swaraj."

Having pursued for eight months an elaborate campaign from the Press and the Platform, Mr. Gandhi prepared to launch his non-co-operation movement in the autumn of 1920. He remained undeterred by two tragic occurrences, which might well have convinced anyone more open to reason of the danger of the course he was adopting. The first was the assassination by a Muslim fanatic, of a popular and esteemed District officer: the second, the wholesale migration of thousands of ignorant persons, amidst misery and suffering reminiscent of the Crusades, to Afghanistan, whither they were impelled by the false and cruel assertion that their faith was endangered by continued residence in India. But of these portents Mr. Gandhi took no more heed than of his own fatal *Satyagraha* experiment. Thanks largely to his alliance with the Muhammadans, as well as to the enthusiasm of his personal partisans among the Hindus, he was able to obtain in September the support and sanction of a special Calcutta meeting of the Indian National Congress. After a keen discussion, the mass of the delegates who constituted Mr. Gandhi's following, carried the day against the more cautious counsels of well known leaders

Evil Omen.

Mr. Gandhi's First Triumph.

Non-co-operation was accepted in principle by a conclusive, if narrow, majority; and a Sub-Committee was appointed to prepare draft instructions as to the exact operation of the campaign. Probably among the causes of Mr. Gandhi's victory must be reckoned his assurance that "Swaraj" could be gained in the course of a single year, if the specifics which he had devised were adopted.

The Committee recommended first, the surrender of titles and honorary offices, and resignations from nominated seats in local bodies: secondly, refusal to attend levees, durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officers or in their honour; thirdly, the gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided, or controlled by Government, and in place of such schools and colleges the establishment of national schools and colleges in the various provinces; fourthly, the gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants and the establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes; fifthly, refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia; and sixthly, withdrawal by candidates of

The Congress Programme.

their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils, and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who might, despite the advice of Congress, offer himself for election. Mr. Gandhi and his immediate band of followers then moved up and down the country, this time enjoying the benefit of the organised Congress machinery for securing the success of their meetings. They failed to persuade more than a fractional proportion of the title holders to surrender their titles, or of lawyers to resign their practice. But on the other hand they were successful in causing educational dislocation to a considerable degree. Wherever Mr. Gandhi made his appearance, there for the moment was the ordinary progress of educational work seriously interrupted. His

Mr. Gandhi's Services to Education.

hold upon the student mentality is great, fo they are a class to whom his idealism and frank appeal to the other-regarding emotions prov naturally attractive. Where Mr. Gandhi was most successful was i institutions which give but little scope for the traditional intimac between master and pupil, teacher and taught, which India so wel understands; and thus could offer to their students no leadership cal culated to counteract Mr. Gandhi's magnetism. The susceptibility o students, in India as elsewhere, to generous emotion, and their read acceptance of the domination of catchwords such as "non-co-operatio

with a satanic Government" rendered them easy victims to this disastrous appeal to leave their studies.

It need hardly be said that such an organised attack upon the educational structure of the country caused a great sensation. From its inception, the good sense of a large number even of Mr Gandhi's personal followers revolted against the enterprise; and had it not been that his destructive campaign was in all cases accompanied by a specious programme of educational re-construction by means of "National" schools and colleges, this particular phase of the non-co-operation movement would have ended in earlier failure. But the demand for "National" as opposed to "Imported" education struck a responsive chord in the breasts of many educated Indians; and it was only when the practical difficulties of Mr. Gandhi's programme obtruded themselves into notice, and when it was seen that the pathetically inefficient "National" Schools and Colleges could in no way supply the hiatus which would be caused by the indiscriminate destruction he proposed, that the campaign began for the moment to fail.

Their Effect.

Mr. Gandhi's efforts in another direction were more impressive. He exercised a potent influence upon the history of the new Councils, for he prevented the inclusion in the Reformed Legislatures of certain advanced thinkers who figure prominently in the public eye. This not only left the Liberals a clear field of which they took full advantage, but also prevented the Reforms from being wrecked by persons who bore no good will to the British connection. The position of the Liberals at this time demands a word of notice. It will be remembered that they had committed themselves from the first to an honest working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Their position was now one of considerable difficulty. Upon the question of the Punjab and to a less extent of the Khilafat, many of them felt as deeply as did the non-co-operators. Nor were they oblivious to the essentially nationalist sentiment which inspired many of Mr Gandhi's followers. On the other hand, while the non-co-operation movement made a strong appeal to their hearts, their heads were too cool to succumb to its spell. They reverenced Mr. Gandhi's personality; they sympathised in large measure with his three-fold end; and although they valued the British connection, as indispensable to India's welfare, they had little more love for the Government than he had himself. But they were entirely convinced of two things, and this conviction determined their

The Moderate or Liberal Party.

conduct. They knew that Mr. Gandhi's methods would lead to disastrous results, and they firmly believed that the road to India's aspirations lay through the employment, mastery and extension of the Reforms. Despite the storm of obloquy levelled upon them in the Press and from the platform, they steadfastly refused to join Mr. Gandhi in his campaign.

The work preparatory to the launching of the new constitution was now proceeding with remarkable speed, and by the close of the year 1920, all was ready for the beginning of the new era. As His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had not yet completely recovered from the labours of his Dominion Tour, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught was appointed by His Majesty the King to discharge the task of formally inaugurating the new Legislatures, Central and Local.

The non-co-operation campaign continued to be waged with much vehemence of thought and expression. There seemed considerable danger lest the more impetuous supporters of this campaign should be led to indulge in speech and action which was calculated to produce that violence which they professed to shun. In particular, it appeared that they were turning their attention from the educated classes to the masses—a development which was pregnant with possibilities of serious disorder. Accordingly, in the beginning of November 1920, as mentioned in last year's Report, Government found it desirable to make plain beyond the possibility of doubt exactly what its policy was towards non-co-operation. The Resolution affirmed that while Government regarded the movement as unconstitutional, no proceedings had been instituted against those of its promoters who advocated abstention from violence, and that for three reasons. In the first place, Government declared itself reluctant to restrain freedom of speech and liberty of the Press at a time when India was on the threshhold of a great advance towards the realisation of Self-Government within the Empire: secondly, Government was always reluctant to embark upon a campaign against individuals, some of whom were actuated by honest if misguided motives, further recognising that the sympathy evoked by such proceedings might swell adherence to a cause of no intrinsic merit. Thirdly and more particularly, however, Government trusted in the commonsense of India to reject a scheme so chimerical and visionary—a trust largely justified by the unanimity of the best minds of the country in its condemnation. The Resolution proceeded to convey a plain warning of the dangers of anarchy and suffering inherent in the attempt of the non-co-operators to stir up the ignorant masses; and appealed to sober-minded men

Government and Non-Co-operation.

for concerted measures to assist law and order. It concluded by a declaration that repressive action against the non-co-operation movement could be postponed only so long as moderate citizens were successful in keeping its dangers within bounds.

The studiously moderate tone of this Resolution and of the policy it frankly exposed, served in no small degree to strengthen the growing body of informed opinion which regarded the non-co-operation campaign as utopian in its theory and dangerous in its practice. But the real trial of strength between those who aimed at complete and immediate Swaraj, whether with or without chaos, and those who believed in a process of orderly development towards responsible Government within the Empire, was generally recognised to be the success or failure of the approaching elections. These were held successfully in the teeth of intimidation and social pressure of many subtle kinds despite the best efforts of Mr. Gandhi and his followers. The non-co-operators then turned their attention to their own organization.

The Elections.

The meeting of the National Congress held at Nagpur in December 1920 was to prove extremely important from the point of view of the country at large. It was the scene of another notable triumph for Mr. Gandhi. Notwithstanding the protests of many prominent persons who since the Special September Session had found themselves out of harmony with the spirit of the Congress, Mr Gandhi succeeded both in securing a confirmation of his non-co-operation programme, and in bringing the old "Creed" of the Congress into line with the sentiment of his extreme Muhammadan henchmen of the Muslim League by eliminating the proviso of adherence to the British connection and to constitutional methods of agitation. The session was notable for the personal ascendancy of Mr Gandhi, and for the intolerance manifested by his followers at any divergence from the opinions of their idol. Even well-tried leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Jinnah, and Mr. Khaparde were howled down when they attempted to depict, all too truly, the ultimate implications of Mr. Gandhi's programme. Throughout the debates stress was laid by him and his immediate followers upon the possibility of obtaining Swaraj in less than a single year. A new programme was also framed, which while discarding items now plainly unsuccessful and superfluous, such as the renunciation of titles and the boycott of Councils, made certain substitutions of a very significant

Mr. Gandhi captures the Congress.

character. The most important of these was the determination to establish non-co-operation Committees in every village throughout India—an ominous foreshadowing of systematic attempts to stir up the ignorant masses of the population; to organise an Indian National Service and to raise a "Tilak Swaraj Fund" to finance all these activities. In passing, we may note, the employment of the late Mr. Tilak's name in connection with a campaign which on his very death-bed he had condemned, was an adroit attempt to conciliate the Nationalist party of Maharashtra, which had hitherto manifested no great faith in "soul force" with all the implications thereof.

As a result of the meeting at Nagpur, Mr. Gandhi not merely captured the powerful and well-organised machinery, Central, Provincial, and District, of the Indian National Congress, but in addition, gave it a distinctive turn for the furtherance of his own ends.

Congress and Non-Co-operation.

The year 1921, as we shall see, wrought a great change both in the character of the Congress and in the position of Mr. Gandhi himself. At the beginning of the year, he had approached this body almost in the character of a suppliant; before the end of the year he was to stand forth as the acknowledged dictator, not only of the non-co-operation movement, but also of the remodelled Congress organisation which lent that movement its most formidable strength. Throughout the whole of 1921 Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants proceeded to extend the scope of Congress activities in directions diametrically opposed to those which had commended themselves alike to the founders of the institution, and to the persons who had remained in control until the year 1919. The non-co-operation leaders incorporated in their Tilak Swaraj Fund, and employed for new purposes, the funds, central and local, at the disposal of the Congress. With the aid of these funds they proceeded to re-organise the old Congress Volunteers and the new Volunteers lately raised by the Khilafat Committee, into a fresh

The Volunteer Movement.

organisation known by the name of the "National Volunteers." The function of the Congress Volunteers had previously been confined to various kinds of semi-social service, the supervision of Congress meetings, the provision of retinues for Congress leaders, and, occasionally the exercise of benevolent activities at bathing festivals, plague camps, and scenes of local catastrophies. On the other hand, the Khilafat Volunteers had from the first assumed a more militant appearance. They drilled, they marched in mass formation, they wore

uniform, they were vigorous in enforcing, with scanty respect to the proviso of non-violence, the behests of local leaders in such matters as hartals, social boycott, and intimidation. The fusion of these two bodies, although never completely effected, into a single organisation was thus a step of considerable significance. The new "National" Volunteers inevitably became militant, aggressive and formidable. Their numbers were swelled by bad characters, hooligans and ne'er do weels, attracted first by the prospect of excitement and next, by the hope of a share in the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Before long indeed, most of the "Volunteers" were in receipt of payment whether regular or occasional, and had developed into a disorderly and dangerous, if technically unarmed, militia for the enforcement of the decrees of the Congress Working Committee—a body established to direct from day to day the details of the campaign against Government. It was the existence of these Volunteers, in numbers hitherto unprecedented, and their employment, by exerting pressure, nominally peaceful but generally otherwise, for the furtherance of items in the non-co-operation programme, which gave Mr. Gandhi's movement a character progressively more anarchic and more dangerous to established order as the year 1921 proceeded.

While Mr. Gandhi and his followers were preparing for the campaign destined to produce effects so serious, not only upon the peace and tranquillity of the country, but also upon the rapidity of her advance towards Responsible Government, the new Constitution, borne aloft upon the shoulders of the Government and the Liberal Party, was successfully launched. The appointment of a distinguished Indian, Lord Sinha, as Governor of Bihar: the appointment of ten Indian Members and nineteen Indian Ministers to share in the guidance of the new Provincial Executives: the presence of overwhelming elected majorities in the Legislatures both Central and local—these might well have been taken as proof positive of British determination to provide increasing opportunity for the satisfaction of Indian aspirations. But the fact must be plainly stated: in the confused and suspicious atmosphere of the early weeks of 1921, these auguries of a new era exercised but little attraction over the majority of those to whom they would normally have made their strongest appeal. Mr. Gandhi's movement: the Punjab question: the Khilafat grievance: the acquisition of *Swaraj* within one year—these and these alone were the topics upon which the driving, as opposed to the directing, forces of Indian nationalism were mainly concentrated.

Working of the Reforms.

Only as the year proceeded, did the substantial measure of success achieved by the new Governments, contrasting so cruelly with the disaster, confusion and chaos following upon the track of non-co-operation, convince all those who could still think sanely of the magnitude of the mistake perpetrated by Mr. Gandhi and his hypnotised disciples.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught.

The new constitution received an auspicious impetus from the presence of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, who had laid aside his well-earned rest to labour once more for the India he loved. He visited every principal province, formally inaugurating the Reformed Legislatures. Less perhaps by his actual words, though these of themselves brought balm to thousands of souls momentarily embittered, than by his gracious personality, the Duke accomplished in India a work which no one but the son of the Great Queen could have performed. Everywhere he emphasised the privileges, the opportunities, the responsibilities which the new era signified to the country; everywhere he appealed with touching earnestness for sobriety, harmony, and co-operation from Indians and Englishmen alike. That the non-co-operators should have declared boycott against this reverend and gracious personality was an ominous indication of their own blindness to consideration of courtesy, fair-play, and statesmanship.

Inauguration of the Indian Parliament.

There have been few more impressive spectacles in the history of the connection between Britain and India than that afforded by the Duke's Inauguration, on February 9th, 1921, of the Parliament of India. In the new Council Chamber were gathered, beside the principal officials of Government, the elected members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, upon whose wisdom and sobriety the fate of the Reformed Constitution, and with it the destinies of the country, so largely depended. Lord Chelmsford, in an impressive speech, briefly traced the rise of democratic institutions in India up to the time when he had assumed charge of the Viceroyalty whose last weeks were now running out. He continued—

Lord Chelmsford's speech.

"The forces which had led to the introduction of these reforms continued to gain in intensity and volume; the demand of educated Indians for a larger share in the government of their country grew year by year more insistent; and this demand could find no adequate satisfaction within the framework of the Morley-Minto constitution. This

constitution gave Indians much wider opportunities for the expression of their views, and greatly increased their power of influencing the policy of Government, and its administration of public business. But the element of responsibility was entirely lacking. The ultimate decision rested in all cases with the Government, and the Councils were left with no functions save that of criticism. The principle of autocracy, though much qualified, was still maintained, and the attempt to blend it with the constitutionalism of the West could but postpone for a short period the need for reconstruction on more radical lines.

"Such then was the position with which my Government were confronted in the years 1916-17. The conclusion at which we arrived was that British policy must seek a new point of departure, a fresh orientation. On the lines of the Morley-Minto Reforms there could be no further advance. That particular line of development had been carried to the furthest limit of which it admitted, and the only further change of which the system was susceptible would have made the Legislative and Administrative acts of an irremovable executive entirely amenable to elected Councils, and would have resulted in a disastrous deadlock. The Executive would have remained responsible for the government of the country but would have lacked the power to secure the measures necessary for the discharge of that responsibility. The solution which finally commended itself to us is embodied in principle in the declaration which His Majesty's Government in full agreement with us made in August 1917. By that declaration the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government was declared to be the goal towards which the policy of His Majesty's Government was to be directed. The increasing association of the people of India with the work of Government had always been the aim of the British Government. In that sense a continuous thread of connection links together the Act of 1861 and the declaration of August 1917. In the last analysis the latter is only the most recent and most memorable manifestation of a tendency that has been operative throughout British rule. But there are changes of degree so great as to be changes of kind, and this is one of them. For the first time the principle of autocracy which had not been wholly discarded in all earlier reforms was definitely abandoned: the conception of the British Government as a benevolent despotism was finally renounced; and in its place was substituted that of a guiding authority whose role it would be to assist the steps of India along the road that in the fullness of time would lead to complete self-government within the Empire. In

the interval required for the accomplishment of this task, certain powers of supervision, and if need be of intervention, would be retained, and substantial steps towards redeeming the pledges of the Government were to be taken at the earliest moment possible.

"And now His Majesty the King-Emperor, who has given so many proofs of his concern for the welfare of India, has been pleased to set the seal on our labours of the last four years by deputing His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught to open on his behalf the new Indian Legislature. His Royal Highness is no stranger to India. Some five years of his life were passed in this country; he has himself been a Member of the Indian Legislative Council; he knows the people of India and their problems and his interest in their well-being has never flagged. We welcome him not only as the representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor, but as an old and proved friend of India.

"And now it is my privilege and pleasure to ask His Royal Highness to inaugurate the new Assemblies of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly."

The Duke, amidst a profound silence of expectation, delivered the following message from His Majesty the King-Emperor.

The Royal Message.

"Little more than a year has elapsed since I gave my assent to the Act of Parliament which set up a constitution for British India. The intervening time has been fully occupied in perfecting the necessary machinery: and you are now at the opening of the first session of the legislatures which the Act established. On this auspicious occasion I desire to send to you, and to the members of the various Provincial Councils, my congratulations and my earnest good wishes for success in your labours and theirs.

"For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland. To-day you have beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire; and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy.

"On you, the first representatives of the people in the new Councils, there rests a very special responsibility. For on you it lies by the conduct of your business and the justice of your judgments to convince the world of the wisdom of this great constitutional change. But on you it also lies to remember the many millions of your fellow countrymen who are not yet qualified for a share in political life, to work for their uplift-ment and to cherish their interests as your own.

"I shall watch your work with unfailing sympathy, and with a resolute faith in your determination to do your duty to India and the Empire."

His Royal Highness, after dwelling upon the difficulties and privileges of the new era concluded his speech with an eloquent personal appeal—

"Gentlemen, I have finished my part in to-day's official proceedings. May I claim your patience and forbearance while I say a few words of a personal nature? Since I landed I have felt around me bitterness and estrangement between those who have been and should be friends. The shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the fair face of India. I know how deep is the concern felt by His Majesty the King Emperor at the terrible chapter of events in the Punjab. No one can deplore those events more intensely than I do myself. I have reached a time of life when I most desire to heal wounds and to re-unite those who have been disunited. In what must be, I fear, my last visit to the India I love so well, here in the new Capital, inaugurating a new constitution, I am moved to make you a personal appeal, but in the simple words that come from my heart, not to be coldly and critically interpreted. My experience tells me that misunderstandings usually mean mistakes on either side. As an old friend of India, I appeal to you all, British and Indians, to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, and to join hands and to work together to realise the hopes that rise from to-day."

The Duke's Appeal.

That this appeal did not fall upon deaf ears, soon became amply apparent. The relations between the official Government and the new Indian Legislatures were, throughout the whole of the first critical session, satisfactory in the highest degree. The non-official members of the Legislative Assembly and of the Council of State, who control an absolute majority over any number of votes which Government can possibly command, throughout revealed a sense of responsibility; of sobriety and of statesmanship which surpassed all sanguine expectations. On the side of Government there was a generous response. Lord Chelmsford remarked, when the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State were inaugurated, that the principle of autocracy in the administration of India has now been definitely discarded. The officials were not slow to exhibit their realisation of the change which has come over the spirit of the time. They gladly acknowledged the power of the new

The Response.

Legislatures: took them into confidence; sought their co-operation, and recognised their responsibilities.

That such should have been the relations between the officials and the non-officials is all the more noteworthy in view of the early difficulties which beset the new Indian Parliament. It was generally felt that the debate upon the Punjab question would strike once and for all the keynote of the session. On the 15th February 1921, a resolution was moved by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas recommending the Governor-General to declare the firm resolve of the Government of India to maintain the connection of India with the British Empire on the principle of perfect racial equality; to express regret that the Martial Law administration of the Punjab departed from this principle, and to mete out deterrent punishment to officers who have been guilty; and to satisfy himself that adequate compensation was awarded to the families of those killed or injured at the Jallianwala Bagh. The notable feature of the debate which ensued was the deep sense of responsibility felt both by the official and the non-official speakers for the present and future effects of the words they uttered. The speeches of the Indian Members revealed no rancour and no desire for vengeance. They made it plain that they were fighting for a principle. On the other side, the officials re-asserted with an added emphasis which this occasion had for the first time made possible, their disapproval of certain acts which had given rise to such bitter resentment among the educated classes of India. Sir William Vincent, who led the debate from the Government benches, while in no way underestimating the grave nature of the disturbances, the crimes of unparalleled violence that had marked them; the very difficult situation with which the officers of Government were confronted; and the propriety of the behaviour of the great majority of these officers; made plain the deep regret of the administration at the improper conduct and improper orders of certain individual officers; and their firm determination that so far as human foresight could avail, any repetition would be for ever impossible. He repudiated emphatically the suggestion that Indian lives were valued more lightly than the lives of Englishmen, expressing his sorrow that the canons of conduct for which the British administration stood had been in certain cases violated. He announced Government's intention to deal generously with those who had suffered in the disturbances. The sincerity and the earnestness of the Home Member's desire to assuage the feelings of Indians

The Punjab Debate.

exercised a profound effect upon the Assembly. Acknowledging the sympathetic attitude of Government, the Assembly agreed to welcome the Duke of Connaught's appeal, to let bye-gones be bye-gones, and to sink the whole lamentable affair in oblivion. The third clause, calling for deterrent punishment was withdrawn, and the resolution as amended was then accepted by the whole House.

The effect of this decision, and of the subsequent statement made by Government regarding the steps taken to deal with the officers whose conduct had been impugned, was most salutary. There was, it was true a demand for the further revision of the sentences of such persons condemned by the Martial Law Tribunals as had not been released—they were few—by Government. This demand was subsequently satisfied by the personal investigation of those cases by no less an authority than Lord Reading himself; while public opinion was further gratified by the payment of compensation to Indian sufferers upon a liberal scale, and the relief of the towns of Amritsar, Kasur and Gujranwalla from the indemnities imposed upon them. Broadly speaking, the result of this debate in the Assembly, and of the frank expression of regret for the wrongs done on either side, was gradually to remove the "Punjab grievance" as a living issue from the realm of practical politics. For while Mr. Gandhi did not dare to drop this item from his programme, he was compelled to give it the very form which he had himself on earlier occasions most strongly condemned, namely a demand for executive vengeance upon, as opposed to judicial punishment of, the impugned officials, and for the arbitrary forfeiture of the pensions of General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer. At the same time neither he nor any of his followers took such steps as were open to them to bring the matter before the Courts.

Its Consequences.

Having, as it were, cleared the atmosphere of much of the electricity with which it was charged, the Assembly, like the Council of State, proceeded to steady and serious business. The deliberations of both Houses had none of that unreality which too often characterised the proceedings of the old Imperial Legislative Council with its solid official majority. The elected representatives, preponderating effectively, were brought face to face with responsibility, since the results of the debates depended primarily upon themselves. Under the wise guidance of their Presidents, both Houses proceeded to formulate for themselves sound traditions of Parliamentary procedure. The conduct of the members was

Character of the Central Legislature.

marked by a commendable sobriety. While the utmost freedom of speech was exercised as their unquestioned right, members soon came to favour terse, informed, pointed contributions to the solution of questions at issue, manifesting a steadily increasing impatience of the banal, the verbose, and the offender against the canons of good taste. When all allowances are made for inexperience, and for the imperfect appreciation of powers wielded for the first time, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that India's new Parliament passed through the ordeal of its first session with very remarkable success.

Of this the best demonstration was the extent and the solidity of the work accomplished— work which depended for its completion upon that harmonious co-operation between officials and non-officials to which reference has already been made. In the Legislative Assembly, the extensive financial powers already secured under the new constitution were consolidated by the election of Standing Committees for Public Accounts and for Finance: the functions of the latter being extended to the sanction and control of expenditure for which the House voted "block grants," in addition to the more formal duty of scrutinizing Budget proposals, examining supplementary votes, and dealing with major schemes involving fresh expenditure. Considering the general financial situation of India at the beginning of the year 1921-22, it must be pronounced fortunate indeed that the Legislative Assembly contained a considerable sprinkling of men accustomed to play responsible parts in commerce, administration, and public life. For, as was briefly indicated in last year's Report, the disastrous economic history of 1920 had resulted in a deficit of £18½ millions, which had to be met by the imposition of fresh taxation. Now under the new Constitution, not only must all taxation proposals be passed by the Assembly and the Council of State, but, in addition, the ordinary administrative charges, with the exception of items earmarked for military and political heads, and all-India services, depend entirely upon the voting of grants by the Legislature. It is therefore in the power of the elected members at any time to bring about a deadlock by stopping supplies, and to force the Viceroy either to acquiesce in the course of action which they desire, or to employ overriding powers of a kind which cannot but injure the growth of responsibility. Had this course been adopted by the Assembly, only a miracle could have saved the Reforms. But despite their knowledge of the odium which

Its Work.

The Budget.

the imposition of fresh taxation at such a juncture would bring upon them, the members rose to the obligations entailed by their new powers. While they sharply scrutinised all the demands presented to them, and insisted upon full explanations concerning any items of which they stood in doubt, they consented to the grants, and endorsed the taxation proposals, with comparatively few alterations. In other matters also, both the Assembly and the Council of State displayed their business acumen to considerable advantage, while the Government cordially co-operated in their efforts. Committees, with effective Indian majorities, were appointed to examine the Press Act, and certain laws conferring extraordinary powers on the executive, commonly described as "repressive", with a view to their early removal from the Statute Book. The appointment of a Commission to examine the whole question of tariffs was a natural sequel to the pronouncement of the Joint Committee of Parliament on the subject of the autonomy of India in matters of fiscal policy. The policy of the administration towards non-co-operation, the exchange situation, the export of foodstuffs, the slaughter of cattle and the Khilafat movement was elicited, and approved by the Legislature, as the result of debates upon these important matters. A Committee was appointed to consider the future military requirements of India, in the light of the opinions prevailing upon the Report of Lord Esher's Committee. Satisfactory assurances were obtained from the Administration as to the early constitution of a Military College and a Territorial Force for India, which should enable the educated classes to acquire the training necessary for effective co-operation in the task of defending the country. Much useful legislation, particularised in another place, was successfully placed upon the Statute Book. Such in briefest outline was the work accomplished by the Central Legislature in its first session: well might Lord Chelmsford say in the course of his prorogation speech—

Other Activities.

"Even the British Constitution, as Mr. Gladstone has shown, may break down if it is worked in any way other than that of mutual respect and in a common interest for a common aim. It is, then, in the belief that it is with good sense and good-will that the new Constitution will be worked that I have faith in what I have set my hand to.

Lord Chelmsford's Prorogation.

"It is the first step which counts and this first session should go far to dispel the doubts of those who have looked upon our new constitutional

departure with gloomy forebodings. It should go far to hearten those who are pledged to fight the constitutional cause against the forces of disorder and anarchy. But for those who have displayed such conspicuous wisdom and courage in launching the new constitution on right lines, there still remains work to do. There is need for the spreading of the constitutional gospel in the country. You will then, I hope, in your receess make an organised effort to teach people what this reformed constitution means ; that real powers—not sham—are vested in the Councils, and how surely through these Councils, progress must come."

The work accomplished by the Provincial Legislatures, if of a kind more local in its interests, was equally solid. That mistakes should have been made, was inevitable, as when the Bengal Council rejected the demand for the maintenance of the Police establishment. But in every instance, the difficulty was overcome by the exercise of tact, the provision of opportunities for reconsideration, the gradual growth of the conviction that the responsibilities now vested in the elected majority were real and serious. What may be called the educational effects of confronting the new Councils with actual administrative problems were unquestionably very marked. Fervid oratory began to yield before sober efforts to solve knotty problems : facile demands for the advent of the Millenium faltered as their authors were faced with practical difficulties and entrusted with the task of devising practical remedies.

Provincial Legislatures.

The prorogation of the first session of the Reformed Councils, both Central and Local, coincided almost exactly with the termination of Lord Chelmsford's arduous and significant Viceroyalty. To few Governors-General has it been given to accomplish so much towards the enduring welfare of their great charge ; to fewer yet has the meed of praise and appreciation been so scantily rendered. This is not the place in which to recount his labours for the good of India, or to describe the supreme difficulty of the circumstances amidst which those labours were performed. Bare justice demands none-the-less that some brief indication should be given of the change which came over India during the course of his momentous administration. Throughout his Viceroyalty India was under the influence of the Great War. He arrived in the country at a time of singular difficulty. The first great wave of war enthusiasm had spent itself ; nothing had so far been done to satisfy the expectations aroused by the applause with which the politicians and people of Great Britain had greeted India's war efforts ; and ominous

Lord Chelmsford's Viceroyalty.

signs of break-down in the military machinery were manifest. It must be recorded of Lord Chelmsford that his administration roused India from depression into new vigour. War activities of great, almost incalculable value for the prosecution of the struggle, were carried on despite the uneasiness of the country. His Government had to bear a double burden. While consecrating to the uses of the Empire enormous supplies of men, money and material, such as could ill be spared, he had also to preserve India from external aggression and internal disaster. Great as were Lord Chelmsford's services to the Empire in general, his work for India is even more deserving of commemoration. In 1916, when he assumed charge of his high office, the educated classes were labouring uneasily beneath certain grievances which were bitterly resented. India's position in the Commonwealth was ambiguous. For while on the one hand the attitude of certain of the Dominions towards her nationals seemed to stamp her with the stigma of inferiority and the ultimate goal of British Rule remained undefined: on the other hand, internal affairs were, from the point of view of the educated classes, scarcely more satisfactory. India's sons were deprived on racial grounds of the privilege of bearing arms; they could not aspire to King's Commissions; their position in India's Imperial Services was insignificant. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 had failed to confer upon them any effective power of influencing the executive. But by 1921, after five strenuous years, the picture was completely changed.

His Services to India.

Since 1917, India had been a Member of the Imperial Conference. The names of her representatives stood as signatories to the Peace Treaty of Versailles. She was an original Member of the League of Nations. One of her representatives played a prominent part in the British Empire Delegation to the Disarmament Conference at Washington. The self-governing Dominions, with a single exception, had accepted her new position in the British Commonwealth, where she was no longer a Dependency, but a sister nation on the road to complete equality with the other members. This altered situation depended upon a momentous definition of the goal of British Rule in India—a definition arising directly from the labours of Lord Chelmsford and Mr. E. S. Montagu. India's future within the Empire no longer remained undefined; she could look forward to Responsible Government as an entity of Dominion status. She was actually operating a progressive scheme leading directly to Self-Government, a scheme holding out before her infinite possibilities of advancement. In token of her changed position,

many of those anomalies which aroused such bitter feeling had been removed. The racial stigma was gone from the Arms Act. Indian soldiers were holding King's Commissions. Indian youths were being trained for Sandhurst, at an Indian Military College. Indian lads were learning in Territorial units to fit themselves for the defence of their country. In industrial and educational spheres, steady and substantial progress had been achieved, while local self-government had made notable advances. In brief, as a result of the labours of Lord Chelmsford and his Government through good repute and through ill, the face of India was changed in half a decade. The fact that this change has not contented impatient idealists; that it has not placated that post-war unrest from which India suffers in common with the rest of the world—these things must not be allowed to colour over-much a considered judgment upon Lord Chelmsford's administration. Of him and of his work alike it may be said with confidence that the future, if not the present, will assuredly do them justice.

Remarkable Changes.

India was fortunate indeed that to a Viceroy who had steered the barque of State through storms so fierce, there should have succeeded a statesman whose reputation had been won in the lists of justice. The great judicial career of Lord Reading, his liberal opinions, his services to the Empire as a diplomat, combined to mark him out as the man of all others to complete the work which Lord Chelmsford had so well begun.



CHAPTER III.

Order and Anarchy.*

The situation which awaited Lord Reading, while not devoid of hopeful elements, was anxious. In order to appreciate his difficulties, it will be necessary to resume the account of Mr. Gandhi's activities, which was broken immediately subsequent to the Nagpur Congress.

Non-Co-operation *versus* The Reforms.

While both officials and non-officials were earnestly striving to lay the foundations of a solid structure of Responsible Government, the non-co-operators, under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers, were pursuing their campaign of misdirected energy. It is indeed instructive during the year 1921-22 to compare the achievements of the Reformed Constitution, its steady satisfaction, one by one, of the demands which educated India had voiced for decades : its vigilant watchfulness of the interests of the country : its gradually increasing dignity, authority and influence, with the utter sterility, in all healthy practical achievement of the non-co-operation campaign. The historian of the future will probably experience some difficulty in explaining to his readers how the India of 1921-22 could conceivably have hesitated, even for one moment, between the path of reform, with its infinite possibilities of progress and the path of non-co-operation, with its equally boundless possibilities of anarchy, chaos, and misery. But it should be remembered that the political atmosphere of the time was far from normal. In the earlier pages of this Report, some mention has been made of the forces which impelled all but the most sober-minded and experienced of Indians to frame their course of action according to the vagaries of sentiment rather than the dictates of reason. Nor on the other hand can it be denied that in the achievements of the Councils, rich as they were in potentialities of early progress towards self-government, there was little to touch the imagination of the enthusiastic, the impetuous,

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* This chapter is based principally upon official reports, upon the current press, and upon the writings of Indian students of politics. In the last class, I must record my gratitude to Mr. Alfred Nundy, who has courteously placed his book, "Revolution or Evolution," at my disposal.

the would-be martyr. Their appeal was rather to the logical, to the clear-headed, to the disillusioned. Mr. Gandhi, on the other hand, by his frank oblivion alike to common sense and to the limitations of practical politics, gathered under his banner, together with many disaffected and many disappointed persons, a very appreciable contingent of disinterested and generous enthusiasts. While unable, largely through the peculiar character of his ideas and of his programme, to compass much positive good, he was thus empowered to spread far and wide a negative and corrosive influence highly dangerous to the stability of society.

Mr. Gandhi and the Khilafatists.

During the first three months of the year 1921, the strength of the working agreement between Mr. Gandhi and his Muhammadan "brethren" had become more than ever apparent. Each party to the alliance was in fact necessary to the other. For while on the one hand Mr. Gandhi's espousal of the Khilafat cause and his declared identification with the Ali Brothers, placed at his disposal the matchless fighting force of Muslim religious sentiment; on the other hand his own importance as a national figure, his acknowledged altruism, and his blind acceptance of any extravagant demand put forward in the name of religion, enabled the representatives of extreme Mussalman opinion to go safely in their propaganda to lengths which would in other circumstances have been impossible. Guaranteed as it were by Mr. Gandhi, safeguarded by his insistence upon non-violence, the Muslim extremists succeeded, with small interference from the authorities, in exciting the religious frenzy of their co-religionists to a dangerous heat. And while all must admit that Mr. Gandhi's aim of uniting Hindus and Muhammadans upon a common platform has much to commend it, it is impossible to deny that throughout the major portion of the year 1921, this platform, whatever his intentions may have been, was in truth nothing more nor less than racial hatred of the Government and of Englishmen. During the early months of the period, this regrettable fact became increasingly apparent. The boycott of educational institutions was pursued in a vigorously aggressive fashion. There was scarcely a University from which misguided boys did not withdraw, in larger or smaller numbers, to devote themselves to the work of agitation. Many lives were ruined: many careers blasted, before it became apparent that the movement was disastrous only to those who were so ill-advised as to participate in it. Even institu-

The Educational Campaign.

tions like Benares and Calcutta, which had long resisted the poison succumbed for a time to its effects. But the utter failure of the non-co-operators to provide for the boys whose prospects they had ruined: the inadequacy both in teaching and in resources of the mushroom "National" institutions, could not long remain concealed. This item of Mr. Gandhi's programme, after exciting the reprobation of all sober-minded men, collapsed. Meanwhile, in cheerful optimism Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers toured the country preaching doctrines which shortly bore fruit in violent disorders. We shall proceed to notice in due course some of the more formidable of these disturbances; for the present it is sufficient to state that during the calendar year 1921 there were no fewer than sixty outbreaks of varying seriousness in different parts of India. But sublimely confident in his power to control the whirlwind he was sowing, Mr. Gandhi pressed forward. The members of the Volunteer organisations spread themselves over the countryside, inspiring rustics only a shade more credulous than themselves, with contempt for constituted authority. Muhammadan feeling rose to great heights, and was scarcely assuaged by the unflagging efforts of the Government of India to press their views upon His Majesty's Government—efforts which resulted in an abortive revision of the Treaty of Sevres in directions more favourable to Turkey. Economic unrest rapidly assumed a dangerous form when provided with the nucleus constituted by enthusiastic and vituperative volunteer preachers. Over the whole of this restless activity, many items of which threatened shortly to conflict with the law of the land, Mr. Gandhi threw the cloak at once of his personal sanctity and of his insistence upon non-violence. His followers, it is to be feared, paid but little heed to his admonitions on the latter topic. As in the case of his *Satyagraha* movement, he was the last to perceive, what had for some time been apparent to others, that he was evoking forces which were beyond his powers to control. Utterly convinced of the justice of his ends, believing himself to be a humble instrument for the unification of the Indian people and the re-generation of Indian life, he persisted in the various items of his programme. The condition of the country might well have inspired with doubt and hesitation anyone less blindly convinced of his own infallibility. A brief survey of the situation will show how dangerous were the possibilities of widespread disorder. During January, there were serious agrarian riots, accompanied

Mr. Gandhi's Activities.

Condition of the Country.

by extensive looting and widespread anarchy, in certain districts of the United Provinces. Was this the peasantry to whom a wise man would have introduced the conception of the sanctity of defying organised authority ? The Punjab, also, was in a highly inflammatory condition. To the legacy of bitterness following the occurrences of 1919, there was now added a serious dispute between two sections of the Sikh community which, from the tragic interest it aroused, merits a word of elucidation. The "new" reforming party had been for some time dissatisfied with the management of the Gurudwaras, or shrines, which for long years, under arrangements sanctioned by the "old" conservative party, had been controlled by resident abbots. Many of these *Mahants*, although enjoying wide discretion in the management of considerable revenues, were less Sikhs than Hindus—a fact not unconnected with an inextricable admixture, in the endowment of many of the shrines, of Hindu and Sikh beneficence. The "new" Sikhs alleged malversation and abuses of every kind: the "old" Sikhs regarded the malcontents as inspired only by a desire for plunder. Into this quarrel, primarily domestic to the Sikh community, the emissaries of non-co-operation now penetrated, with the result that the "new Sikhs," and particularly the Akali jathas---bands of volunteers forming the most zealous section of the reformers—became strongly anti-Government and even revolutionary in their outlook. Refusing to be appeased by the efforts of Government to enquire into, and remedy, cases of alleged mismanagement, the Akalis began to "occupy" shrines, and eject the lawful incumbents. Taking their cue from the non-co-operation movement, they eschewed the ordinary processes of law, while professing to act in a "non-violent" manner—so long as they were not resisted. Somewhat naturally, these tactics were combated by the other party. Bloody quarrels, such as will necessarily occur between opposing factions of a simple-minded and warlike people, shortly broke out. In January, there was a serious affray at Tarn Taran. In February India shuddered to hear of a terrible massacre, by the Hindu abbot of Nankana Sahib, of the band of "new Sikhs" designing to eject him from his great and wealthy shrine. For this tragedy, wherein some 130 lives were lost in circumstances of appalling savagery, the spirit of lawlessness arising from the non-co-operation movement, which had made possible such a flagrant attempt to subvert private rights, must be held indirectly responsible. Elsewhere also, the condition of India was almost equally disquieting. In Bihar, there was a strike, complicated by non-co-operation activities

The Sikh Question.

in the East Indian Railway Collieries, leading to a riot at Giridih.

Sporadic Disorders.

Another strike, also accompanied by disorder, broke out on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway. At Nagpur, in the Central Provinces, the intimidation practised by "National Volunteers" against persons resorting to liquor shops, led to serious disturbances. In Assam, as we shall notice later, inflammatory appeals to ignorant tea-garden labourers, began to produce their inevitable effects in riot and disorder. In the Madras and Bombay Presidencies mobs of hooligans, with the name of Gandhi upon their lips, practised subtle terrorism and intimidation of a sort with which the authorities found it most difficult to cope, while Khilafat preachers roused the frenzy of poor and ignorant Muslims with the cry of "Religion in danger." Everywhere through these masses of combustible elements, moved the emissaries of non-co-operation, preaching, it is true, non-violence, but coupling with this admonition fervent exhortations as to the necessity of "passively" defying the authority of the State, and inflammatory appeals for the rectification of the Punjab and Khilafat grievances, and the acquisition of immediate Swaraj. Everywhere they invoked the magic of Mr. Gandhi's name thereby strengthening, whether consciously or unconsciously, the belief of the credulous masses in his miraculous powers. Thousands of ignorant and humble persons, whether dwellers in the city or in the countryside, were fired with enthusiasm for the great "Mahatma," whose kingdom when it came, would bring them prosperity, affluence and a respite from labour. Little wonder that while eagerly drinking in the tales of Government's iniquity and oppression, they set small store by admonitions against the use of violence.

The fountain-head of all these activities, steadily ignoring the terrible potentialities of his campaign, continued to extol the virtues of soul-force, love, and non-violence. The occurrences of disturbances, week by week, almost day by day, which could be traced beyond the possibility of doubt to persons professing to follow his behests, occasioned him from time to time passing, if real, remorse. He was accustomed to express this when some more than usually flagrant example of violence was brought to his notice. But these events affected his belief in the efficacy of his schemes not one whit. In March 1921,

Mr. Gandhi's New Programme.

apparently in answer to those who complained of the purely negative and destructive character of non-co-operation activities, a fresh programme was put forward. Mr. Gandhi now proposed to concentrate

for the next three months upon collecting as much money as possible, upon removing the curses of untouchability and alcoholism and upon inducing every Indian home to employ the hand spinning wheel. In passing, it may be noticed that this last item is of particular interest since it shows that Mr. Gandhi's belief in the efficacy of his Tolstoyan creed had in no way diminished with his emergence upon the stage of Indian politics. To the extreme consternation of many of his followers—particularly in the Muslim section—he announced that the spinning wheel was the key to India's freedom. Once let the nation spin its own thread and weave its own cloth; once let it throw off the curse of modern commercialism; once let it liberate itself from the sway of Lancashire and of machinery: and, he said triumphantly, "Swaraj is realised." The new programme crystalised itself before long into three main items; first, the collection of such monies as would bring the Tilak Swaraj Fund to a total of ten million rupees; second, the collection of ten million members for the Indian National Congress; and thirdly, the installation of two million spinning wheels in two million homes.

Arrival of Lord Reading.

At this juncture Lord Reading landed in India. His great judicial reputation, which had preceded him, was not without its influence even upon the non-co-operators. Mr. Gandhi declined to declare *hartals* on the day of the new Viceroy's arrival, expressing willingness to allow him an opportunity of forming independent conclusions upon the Indian situation. For the moment there was a certain lull in the political tension. The early utterances of Lord Reading, his impressive personality, his manifest determination to render justice to all, were alike instrumental in exciting the hope that the extravagances of non-co-operation would yield before the counsels of intelligence and sanity. But whatever may have been the inclinations of Mr. Gandhi himself, a fresh impetus to the movement was shortly supplied by forces within his own camp.

The latest turn which Mr. Gandhi desired to give to the non-co-operation movement, while it displayed to the impartial observer the consistency of his character, threatened to result in a split among various sections of his followers. So stalwart a nationalist as Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal washed his hands of a movement which professed to find India's freedom at the point of the spindle. There was also a commercial side to the cult of the spinning wheel. Considerable pressure seems to have been brought to bear to induce Mr. Gandhi to modify his

The Cloth Boycott.

opinions concerning machinery. This was apparently unsuccessful. But extraordinary to relate, he was led to reverse his previous solemn denunciation of boycott as a form of "violence." In June, as will be seen later, he declared a rigorous boycott of imported cloth, and ordered its destruction by fire. Little wonder that Indian mill-shares soared, and that certain grateful owners contributed largely to the Swaraj Fund. This difficulty being evaded, Mr. Gandhi turned his attention elsewhere. More serious from his point of view was the growing divergence between his own aims and those of the Khilafat party. These latter made a concerted attempt to force his hand, and to procure a programme more in harmony with their own militant spirit. The Khilafat extremists in general, and the Ali Brothers in particular, proceeded to deliver a series of violent speeches pointing unmistakably in the direction of Islamic supremacy, a religious war, and the liberation of India from the British yoke, with the help of Trans-Frontier Muhammadan forces. For example, Mr. Mohamed Ali, in the course of a singularly offensive speech at Madras, announced that Englishmen would soon be compelled to leave India, and that if the Amir of Afghanistan were to invade India, not aggressively, but for the liberation of the country from an infidel yoke, it would be the duty of all Muslims to assist him actively. Now in view of the uncertainty which then existed as to the attitude of Afghanistan, this declaration came as a severe shock to Hindu sentiment, which still retains a lively memory of past "frightfulness." Its effects were further reinforced by a growing resentment against what was regarded in many quarters as Mr. Gandhi's undue yielding to Muslim predilections in the matter of cowkilling, the preference of Urdu to Hindi, overweighted representation upon deliberative bodies, and like. The Hindu-Muslim unity, to which he attached so much importance, and for which he had demanded so many sacrifices, seemed to be on the point of crumbling. Despite his attempts to gloss over the violent speeches of his Muslim co-workers, and his pathetic assertion of his entire reliance upon the peaceful intentions of the Ali Brothers, a large section of Hindus was being steadily alienated from the non-co-operation movement by the manifest religious intolerance and Pan-Islamic aims of its extreme Mussalman supporters. The reiterated assertions of the Ali Brothers that they were "Muslims first and everything else afterwards," excited genuine alarm among many of those who had been most

Impatience of the Khilafatists.

Hindu-Muslim Dissensions.

actively in sympathy with their cause. In the next place, Government which had held its hand so long as the activities of the non-co-operators were compatible with the law of the land, found itself obliged to consider the question of prosecuting the Ali Brothers for the incitement to violence contained in certain of their recent speeches.

Attitude of Government.

In accordance with the policy already explained, the various administrations of India, both Central and Local, had taken no repressive action against Mr. Gandhi's movement in its unalloyed forms. It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that they were either indifferent or apathetic. While the Government of India did not believe, for reasons set forth in the November resolution, that proceedings against the principal promoters of non-violent non-co-operation would be expedient, they pursued a deliberate and consistent policy in relation to Mr. Gandhi's movement. This policy had both a negative and a positive aspect. On the negative side they directed that vigorous action should be taken under the ordinary law against all those who by speech or writing attempted to incite the public to violence or to tamper with the loyalty of troops or police. They impressed upon local Governments the necessity of keeping the closest possible watch upon efforts to spread disaffection among the masses; of enforcing general respect for the law; and of prosecuting persons guilty of seditious speeches. From time to time during the year 1921, these instructions were revised, as particular aspects of non-co-operative activity became manifest. In the middle of the year, for example, it was found desirable to issue special orders to deal with the oppression perpetrated by self-constituted Village Arbitration Committees, and with the tyranny to which dealers in foreign cloth and liquor sellers were subjected. Local administrations were encouraged to enquire promptly into all complaints of oppression on the part of non-co-operation courts; to promise protection to peaceful citizens in the exercise of their rights to purchase and sell what goods they liked; and to form strong battalions of armed police. Action was also taken against newspapers publishing seditious articles; pamphlets and leaflets inciting to disaffection were confiscated. On the positive side, the authorities trusted both to the enactment of such remedial measures as would remove legitimate political, agrarian and industrial grievances, and to the organisation of counter-propaganda. Loyal citizens were encouraged to form themselves into Leagues of Order; bodies known as *Aman Sabhas* were constituted in various provinces

to undertake publicity work among the masses: the policy and intentions of Government were explained unwearyingly by official and non-official workers: the non-co-operation programme was destructively criticised in the Press and from the Platform: concerted efforts were made to arouse the general public to a realisation of the dangers inherent in Mr. Gandhi's activities. While this counter-propaganda was not without effect, it suffered from one serious, nay fundamental, weakness. In relation to the dominant figure of Mr. Gandhi it was compelled to stand for the most part on the defensive. Even those members of the Liberal Party who were convinced of the errors and follies of the non-co-operation movement, could never bring themselves to question the motives or the eminence of its principal protagonist. Thanks therefore to the reputation enjoyed by Mr. Gandhi, the criticisms levelled against his campaign were shorn of much of their vehemence: for his antagonists generally accompanied their denunciation of his activities with protestations of profound respect for his personality. The honest conviction underlying this attitude was not weakened by the tactics of the non-co-operators, who broke up meetings, howled down speakers and refused to give ear to anything but crude denunciation of the "Satanic" Government. The position of the Liberals was further weakened by the fact that their party was in office. This enabled the non-co-operators to taunt them with the accusation of place-hunting—an effective, if unjust, indictment when the catchword of self-sacrifice was all-dominant.

Difficulties of Counter-Propaganda.

The nature of the speeches delivered by the Ali Brothers, rendered it impossible for the authorities to hold their hand longer. A prosecution was plainly inevitable unless something could be done. Accordingly Mr. Gandhi in a desperate effort to save the situation, embarked upon a course of action damaging at once to his movement and to his own reputation for consistency. He, the head and forefront of the campaign for non-co-operation with a "Satanic" Government, actually presented himself in person before that Government's principal embodiment. To those of his followers who objected to this display of tolerance, Mr. Gandhi replied that he was waging war, not with individuals but with a system. It would have been well for the fair fame of his country if he had remembered this epigram at the coming of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. In May, as a result of the good offices of Pandit Madan Mohan

Impending Prosecution of the Ali Brothers.

Malaviya, a series of interviews were arranged between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi. What passed in the course of these interviews, was not made public, but a few days after Mr. Gandhi had left Simla, the Ali Brothers published an apology in the following terms :—

Their Apology.

"Friends have drawn our attention to certain speeches of ours which, in their opinion, have a tendency to incite to violence. We desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence, and we never imagined that any passages in our speeches were capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them. But we recognise the force of our friends' argument and interpretation.

"We therefore sincerely feel sorry and express our regret for the unnecessary heat of some of the passages in these speeches, and we give our public assurance and promise to all who may require it, that so long as we are associated with the movement of non-co-operation we shall not, directly or indirectly, advocate violence at present, or in the future, nor create an atmosphere of preparedness for violence. Indeed we hold it contrary to the spirit of non-violent non-co-operation, to which we have pledged our word."

The effect of this apology, which was very considerable, was emphasised by Lord Reading in a speech delivered a few days later :—

"I informed Mr. Malaviya that if Mr. Gandhi applied to me for an interview I would readily grant it, and I should be glad to hear his views. The consequence was that in due course Mr. Gandhi did apply, and there was not only one interview, but several interviews between us. There was no finesse or manœuvre about it. It seemed to be a plain and straightforward arrangement for an interview.

The Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi.

"Here again I think I am not quite free to tell you all that you might desire to know. Yet I will say that I am quite certain that the result of these interviews produced at least this satisfactory result, that I got to know Mr. Gandhi and he got to know me.

"This may be somewhat vague and indefinite, yet it is not entirely so. As you may be aware, the result of these visits and discussions was that Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali have issued a public pronouncement, which doubtless you have seen to-day, expressing their sincere regret for certain speeches that they had made inciting to violence, and have given a solemn public undertaking that they will not repeat these speeches or similar speeches so long as they remain associated with Mr. Gandhi. I do not want to discuss this matter at any length,

I merely refer to it as showing that the interviews were not entirely fruitless, because, so far as Government is concerned, we achieved our immediate object, which was to prevent incitement to violence. I have had occasion once before to say that it almost always reacts with fatal effect upon those who are most innocent.

"As a Government we have a duty to perform. We have to protect those who may be thus led away, and we therefore had determined to take steps in order to vindicate the law, to maintain its authority, and to prevent the recurrence of any further violence. Fortunately it has not been necessary to have recourse to the ordinary law of the land, for the reason that we have now got the undertaking to which I have referred. I certainly shall assume that it is intended to keep that undertaking and that the expressions of regret are as sincere as those expressions seem to denote; and so long as that undertaking is observed we need not fear that such speeches will recur and, provided the undertaking is observed, they, too, may be sure that there will be no prosecution for them."

This struck a severe blow at the reputation of the Ali Brothers. They attempted to deny that the apology was offered to Government, and they even succeeded in obtaining the half-hearted support of Mr. Gandhi to their position. But the fact remains that their credit with the more fanatical members of their own community was shaken, and the non-co-operation movement on the Khilafat side suffered a defeat. The policy of suspending a prosecution after obtaining a public apology was employed in numerous other cases, also with good effect.

Renewed Activities of Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi, undismayed by this temporary set-back, devoted his unflagging energies to the programme which he had put forward in March. He and his lieutenants continued to preach without ceasing the virtues of the spinning wheel, the satanic character of foreign cloth, the evils of indulgence in drink. Had they confined their movement to exhortation and practical help, their efforts would doubtless have been productive of good. There is much room in India for the introduction of cottage industries, which might to great advantage occupy the weeks when climatic considerations forbid the practice of agriculture. Further, it cannot be denied that the flimsier kinds of imported cloth, which have for so long been fashionable even among the poorest, are less serviceable than home-spun. The temperance question also has for years attracted

the attention of social reformers. But in all three directions, Mr. Gandhi's campaign was marked by a whirlwind intolerance which in the long run could not fail to hinder the causes he had at heart. Hand-spinning cannot possibly supply India's needs in the way of cloth: the finer counts of material must necessarily be imported.

More Haste Less Speed.

Moreover, large stocks of English cloth were actually in the country. Hence the attempt to boycott foreign cloth and those who wore it and dealt in it, when carried out by picketting and other methods more impatient than judicious, led to frequent breaches of the peace, and much intolerable intimidation. The price of cloth manufactured in India rose in sympathy with the spectacular bonfires, dear to Mr. Gandhi's heart, of imported garments. Altogether the spinning wheel campaign, while it made home-spun fashionable among the upper classes, did little to achieve its professed object. The like is true of the campaign against alcoholic liquor. Boycott of liquor shops, and ostracism, sometimes accompanied by revolting brutality, of those who resorted to them, while it led to a considerable fall in excise revenue, in many places greatly stimulated illicit distillation.

Some Unexpected Consequences.

The campaign against "untouchability," where it did not fail completely, produced the utmost bitterness between the upper castes, jealous of their age-long prerogatives, and the lower, who began to proclaim their right to equal treatment in all social matters. In certain parts of the Bombay Presidency, oddly enough, the lower castes started such an effective boycott of the upper, that the local organs of non-co-operation were driven, in defiance of consistency and with a complete oblivion of the ridiculous, to implore the assistance of Government in suppressing a movement so subversive of decency and order. In other directions, also, Mr. Gandhi's campaign was beginning to produce regrettable results. The boycott of the law courts, preached by his followers, led in some places to the erection of tribunals based, there is some reason to think, upon the analogy of the Sinn Fein Courts in Ireland. Unfortunately in India these tribunals consisted for the most part of ignorant villagers, who after illegally compelling their fellows to submit to their jurisdiction, prescribed and enforced punishments of revolting brutality for breach of arbitrary decrees. Social ostracism of minor officials, village watchmen and the like, led to retaliation and recurrent disorder, in which the non-co-operators bore their share of suffering. As His Excellency

Sir Harcourt Butler had already stated in a speech delivered towards the close of March, the non-co-operation movement was now appearing as a revolutionary movement, "playing on passions and pandering to ignorance." But, from enthusiastic followers of Mr. Gandhi, these disasters were concealed. Fresh activities, new channels of self-expression, were continually forthcoming. All efforts were shortly concentrated upon a "drive" for the Tilak Swaraj Fund; and at the end of July, amidst overwhelming enthusiasm, it was announced that the desired sum of Rupees 10,000,000 had been collected. How much of this money ever materialised, and how much still remains to be realised from unhonoured promises, will probably never be known; since the finances of certain non-co-operating bodies, and their administration of public monies, have long been a scandal and a mockery. But quite apart from the impetus gained by Mr. Gandhi's movement from this spectacular success, the monetary backing which he acquired must have been considerable. Its effects were apparent to the outside world in an immense accession of numbers to the "National Volunteers" and a great stimulus to the more aggressive characteristics of their activity. Indeed, he publicly announced his determination of devoting the Fund "largely" to these purposes. Thus invigorated, Mr. Gandhi announced that he would concentrate all his efforts upon the boycott of foreign cloth which was to be completely achieved before September 30th—when *Swaraj* would be realised—and the universal employment of the spinning wheel. To this last he continued to ascribe mystic virtues, even advocating, as a solution of the North-West Frontier problem, its introduction among the warlike and predatory Border tribes.

The Tilak Swaraj Fund.

Unfortunately, the stern facts of human psychology continued to give the lie to Mr. Gandhi's benevolent dreams of a regenerated India. The lamentable tale of riots and disorders had continued month by month, regardless of his exhortations. Many of these could be traced, without reasonable doubt, to the activities of persons who took his name as their battle cry. The most common cause was mob violence, consequent upon the arrest of "National Volunteers" for breach of the law. At Giridih (Bihar) for example, in April there had been a serious riot connected with the trial of "Volunteers" who had attempted to enforce the decree of a locally constituted

Disorders Increase.

Giridih.

"arbitration committee." A mob of ten thousand people looted the police station and burned the records after unsuccessfully attempting to storm the jail. In the same month, a much more serious outrage had occurred at Malegaon (Bombay), where a brutal outbreak of mob violence arising from the trial of Khilafat workers who had perpetrated intolerable terrorism, resulted in the murder of a sub-inspector and four constables: while almost simultaneously, in the Madras Presidency, "National Volunteers" had come to blows with reserve police. Throughout May, there had been labour troubles in many parts of India, excited in considerable degree by the non-co-operators. The situation in Assam, in particular, was serious: for thousands of simple and ignorant labourers, looking for the advent of the "Gandhi Raj," when all should eat without toiling and rest without intermission, were being persuaded to break their contracts, to leave their work and their possessions in a pathetic endeavour to make their way home to the villages, often hundreds of miles away, from which they had originally hailed. Strikes on the railways, precipitated by non-co-operation demagogues out of alleged "sympathy," seriously complicated matters; indeed, until the strikers perceived, to their own bitter indignation, that they were being used as a cat's paw in the political game, something like a deadlock resulted. Such labourers as were repatriated, either through the efforts of Government or by private charity, often suffered the same cruel disillusioning as had befallen the Muslim emigrants of 1920. Their villages knew them no more: they were strangers, often outcastes. Sadly, amidst much suffering, the movement of mass-immigration subsided. But very untoward results had followed, notably at Chandpur, and the local authorities were freely accused of brutality by the non-co-operators—a charge which only received its quietus when discussed and refuted in the Bengal Legislature. In June, the general state of the country was less disturbed, but in July, sporadic disorders broke out afresh. Labour troubles in Madras, complicated by bitter communal disputes between caste-Hindus and Panchamas, led to formidable rioting, widespread arson, and regrettable loss of life. The hand of the non-co-operator was more directly manifest in riots at Karachi and Dharwar (Bombay) arising out of aggressive picketing of liquor shops; while the trial of "National Volunteers" led to disturbances at Calcutta

Malegaon.

Assam.

Madras.

Bombay.

and Chittagong, as well as to a most formidable outbreak of mob rule and anarchy, necessitating the despatch of troops, at Aligarh.

Bengal and United Provinces.

The Activities of the Khilafatists.

In all these troubles, the prominence of those non-co-operators who specialised in the "Khilafat grievance" was noteworthy. In many cases it was their violence of speech or of action which had driven the local authorities to intervene; and generally, they were the people who bore the brunt of the outraged majesty of law. The accusation was indeed freely made by the Muslim section of the non-co-operating press, that the Muhammadan community was taking more than its fair share of the work—and of the penalties—of defying organised authority. Partly no doubt on this account, and partly from the frenzied excitement aroused by the Greek offensive against Angora; by the strained relations between the Turkish Nationalists and His Majesty's Government; and by the failure to secure the desired modification of the Treaty of Sevres, the extreme section of Khilafat opinion began to throw prudence to the winds. Islamic sentiment rose to great heights: the necessity of proclaiming a Holy War was freely canvassed. At the Khilafat Conference held in July at Karachi, the Ali Brothers, as though to compensate for their much-regretted apology, indulged in a violence of speech which exceeded all their previous efforts. They tried once again to force Mr. Gandhi's hand, committing themselves to the position that the programme sanctioned by the Nagpur Congress was a dead letter, and that if no settlement of the Khilafat question was reached by Christmas, the projected National Congress at Ahmedabad would proceed to declare an Indian Republic. Further to their own undoing they called upon Muhammadan soldiers in the Army to desert, alleging that military service under the present Government was religiously unlawful. They called upon all religious leaders to bring home this doctrine to the sepoys. This step finally exhausted the patience of a long-suffering administration. After the interval necessary for examination of the evidence, as will be seen in the next chapter, the two brothers with certain of their adherents, were tried and condemned in accordance with the ordinary law.

The Karachi Resolutions.

Between the Karachi Conference and the prosecution of the principal actors, Mr. Gandhi found himself obliged to take active steps for the repair of the rents everywhere appearing in the fabric of Hindu-Muslim unity. To reassure Hindu sentiment, which was much exercised by

the intolerance displayed at Karachi, he proclaimed his belief that the Ali Brothers did not really intend to depart from the principle of non-violence; while the demand for independence, even if not universally acceptable, was perfectly permissible under the Congress Creed. For the rest, he threw his influence into the task of curbing the impatience of his over-enthusiastic followers. In certain provinces, the non-co-operators, both Hindu and Muslim, had deluded themselves into supposing that they had already broken the power of Government. Mistaking tolerance for timidity and restraint for weakness, they were so blind as to believe that the death-knell of the established system was already ringing. They insistently demanded that "civil disobedience" to constituted authority should be proclaimed, and that a "National" structure of administration, parallel in every respect to the established machinery of Government should be erected in readiness for the coming of Swaraj. In other words, the advanced wing of the non-co-operation movement was already assuming a revolutionary aspect, which differed only from insurrection in the accepted sense of the term through its loudly advocated, if constantly belied, reliance upon peaceful methods. Whatever sympathy Mr. Gandhi may have had with their ultimate objects, his attitude towards the leaders of this school seems to have been conditioned by his perception that the country was not yet "educated" to the paramount essential of advance along these lines, namely, rigid adherence to the principle of non-violence.

Mr. Gandhi's Difficulties.

Impatient Idealists.

When, early in August, the All India Congress Committee met in Bombay, Mr. Gandhi consistently opposed the efforts of the more impatient spirits. All talk of independence or of a Republic was quietly relegated to the background, and after some lively scenes, it was agreed that attention should be concentrated upon the boycott of foreign cloth and the promotion of hand-spinning and weaving; upon the temperance campaign and upon the promulgation of the doctrine of non-violence. The Committee recommended the postponement, for the present, of civil disobedience until the cloth boycott had been achieved; but in order to preserve the more zealous from undue discouragement, agreed that civil disobedience might be adopted in any given locality provided the permission of the Working Committee, over which Mr. Gandhi's will was law, were first obtained. Unfortunately there was one further recommendation, the nature of which reflected seriously

His Restraining Influence.

upon their appreciation of the dictates of ordinary propriety. This was to the effect that if His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales should come to India—the idea of his visit had been for some time " in the air," the non-co-operators were to boycott all functions arranged in his honour. They added, apparently in all earnestness, that they bore no ill-will to the Prince, but that they regarded the proposed visit as a " political move."

Theory and Practice.

But while Mr. Gandhi and the Congress Committee were discoursing upon the virtues of non-violence, the activities of those who professed to follow their dictates were sowing seeds soon to germinate into widespread and frightful disorder. The Malabar territory of Madras Presidency, in addition to some two million Hindus, contains about a million persons, of mixed Arab and Indian descent, who under the name of Moplahs, have acquired an unenviable reputation for crime perpetrated under the impulse of religious frenzy. Fanatical Muhammadans, poor and ignorant, under the thumb of a bigoted priesthood, they are prone to sudden waves of religious mania, which inspires them with the simple desire to win the Martyr's crown after killing as many non-Muslims as possible. Systematic attempts have long been made to improve their educational and economic status: but progress is slow, and meanwhile, the soil is only too responsive to the seed sown by the religious agitator.

The Moplah Outbreak.

No fewer than thirty-five outbreaks, principally of a minor kind, have occurred during the period of British Rule; but among the most terrible of all was that which burst forth in August 1921. As soon as the activities of the Khilafat Committee were in full progress, Government had realised the dangerous consequences which might result from the application of inflammatory propaganda to Malabar. Considerable pains were therefore taken to exclude from the Moplah area the notable figures among Mr. Gandhi's Muhammadan contingent. But during the early months of 1921, excitement spread speedily from mosque to mosque, from village to village. The violent speeches of the Ali Brothers, the early approach of Swaraj as foretold in the non-co-operating press, the July resolutions of the Khilafat Conference—all these combined to fire the train. Throughout July and August innumerable Khilafat meetings were held, in which the resolutions of the Karachi Conference were fervently endorsed. The doctrine spread that " Government was satanic " and should be paralysed so that " Swaraj " might be set up. The stipulation of non-violence attracted little attention. Knives, swords and spears,

were secretly manufactured, bands of desperados collected, and preparations were made to proclaim the coming of the Kingdom of Islam. Soon policemen were obstructed in the course of their duty. Worse was to follow. On August 20th, when the District Magistrate of Calicut, with the help of troops and police, attempted to arrest certain leaders who were in possession of arms at Tirurangadi, a severe encounter took place, which was the signal for immediate rebellion throughout the whole locality. Roads were blocked, telegraph lines cut, and the railway destroyed in a number of places. The District Magistrate returned to Calicut to prevent the spread of trouble northwards, and the machinery of Government was temporarily reduced to a number of isolated offices and police stations which were attacked by the rebels in detail. Such Europeans as did not succeed in escaping—and they were fortunately few—were murdered with bestial savagery. As soon as the administration had been paralysed, the Moplahs declared that Swaraj was established. A certain Ali Musaliar was proclaimed Raja, Khilafat flags were flown, and Ernad and Walluvanad were declared Khilafat Kingdoms. The main brunt of Moplah ferocity was borne, not by Government, but the luckless Hindus who constituted the majority of the population. Somewhat naturally they did not join a purely Muslim revolutionary movement, and accordingly paid a bitter price for their loyalty when the temporary collapse of Government authority placed them at the mercy of their savage neighbours. Massacres, forcible conversions, desecration of temples, foul outrages upon women, pillage, arson and destruction—in short, all the accompaniments of brutal and unrestrained barbarism, were perpetrated freely until such time as troops could be hurried to the task of restoring order throughout a difficult and extensive tract of country. The military aspects of the rebellion have already been sufficiently noticed in a previous chapter, and it only remains in this place to indicate the effect of the tragedy upon the general situation in India.

Origin of the Outbreak.

The Khilafat Raj.

At first, the attitude of the non-co-operating party was one of incredulity. The accounts of the outrages which appeared in the Press were denounced as official inventions, as Machiavellian attempts to divide the Mussalmans from the Hindus. But when the tale of distress and suffering grew daily ; when increasing numbers of desperate Hindu refugees poured into the safe asylum of Calicut ; when the very

Effect upon Indian Opinion.

office-bearers of the local Congress and Khilafat Committees bore horrified testimony to the conditions which prevailed in Malabar, denials were impossible. Half-hearted attempts were then made to show that the non-co-operation movement was not responsible for the tragedy; that Government had brought all these troubles upon itself by refusing permission to the apostles of peace and non-violence to enter Malabar. These manœuvres availed but little in the face of patent facts. From refugees in the great camps opened by public and private charity at Calicut, accounts were gathered which more than confirmed the most terrible stories of carefully fomented excitement leading to the ebullition of barbarous and fanatical cruelty. Local non-co-operators who obtained permission to enter the disturbed area in order to "pacify" the Moplahs, speedily returned with the admission that they could effect nothing. All over Southern India, a wave of horrified feeling spread among Hindus of every shade of opinion, which was intensified when certain Khilafat leaders were so misguided as to pass resolutions of "congratulation" to the Moplahs on the brave fight they were conducting for the sake of religion. Mr. Gandhi, doubtless deceived by those around him, himself spoke of the "brave God-fearing Moplahs" who were "fighting for what they consider as religion, and in a manner which they consider as religious." However, in the face of unanimous and horrible testimony to Moplah savagery, bloodlust and fanaticism, his endeavours to conciliate Hindu opinion by explanations, denials, and censure of the authorities, did but little to bridge the ever-widening gulf between the two communities. Sane and sober opinion all over the country pointed to the conditions in Malabar as a foretaste of Swaraj, and as a practical example of the dangers inherent in the non-co-operation campaign. None the less, Mr. Gandhi persisted in his movement: and brushed aside the Malabar outbreak as a mere incident.

Who was to Blame?

The Working of the Reforms.

While the activities of Mr. Gandhi and his followers were involving India in turbulence, confusion, and distress, the working of the Reformed Constitution was unmistakably pointing the path along which true progress lay. Between the end of March and the beginning of September, ample evidence was afforded of the desire of the administration to work in fullest sympathy with the new Legislatures. In the provinces, Englishmen and Indians, Ministers and Executive Councillors, laboured strenuously, while the non-official majorities in the Legislature employed their power, some incidents apart, with a growing

sense of responsibility. Much work of a useful kind was accomplished and various remedial measures were introduced, of which an account will be found in another place. In the sphere of the Central Government, the achievements of the working alliance between Government and the Liberals were of the most substantial character. The Committees appointed to examine the Press Acts and "Repressive Legislation" produced in due season reports which gave great satisfaction. The first Committee recommended the repeal of the Press Act and the Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act, but advocated the amending of the Press and Registration of Books Act in such a way as to strengthen the responsibility of the Indian Press and to protect the Administration against the dissemination of openly seditious literature. The second Committee recommended the repeal of a number of Acts of a kind generally regarded as adversely affecting the liberties of the individual, although in view of the disturbed condition of the country due to the non-co-operation movement, they agreed to the retention for the present of the Seditious Meetings Act and the second part of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908, which included provisions against illegal associations. Both these Reports were unanimous—a fact of some interest when the mixed official and non-official character of the Committees is considered. A third committee, which sat under the presidency of Lord Rawlinson, considered the military requirements of India in light of the important resolutions which the Legislative Assembly had passed regarding the Esher Report. Its conclusions were forwarded to the Home Government for examination by a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence. In other directions also the first session of the Central Legislature had already led to results full of promise for the future. A Territorial organisation was started, consisting of seven units for different parts of India and Burma. A scheme was initiated, and sanctioned, for the establishment of an Indian Military College, which should prepare Indian lads for Sandhurst. The Government of India entered into correspondence with the Secretary of State with the object of enabling Indians to qualify for commissions in the Artillery and Engineer services, as well as in the Royal Air Force. Prior to the September session of the new "Parliament," arrangements for the projected Fiscal Commission were well advanced and the members of this body entered upon their important labours before the close of the year.

Important Committees.

Other Achievements.

Thus when Lord Reading opened in State at Simla the second Session of the Central Legislature he was able to refer with justifiable pride to the work already accomplished under the Reformed Constitution. In the course of his inaugural speech the Viceroy announced the approaching visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Simla Session : Lord Reading's Speech.

"You will remember, that a little more than a year ago, His Majesty the King Emperor by Royal Proclamation informed the Princes and people of India of his decision that the visit of the Prince of Wales to India must be deferred for a time in order that His Royal Highness might recover from the fatigue of his labours in other parts of the Empire. We have recently heard to our great joy that the health of His Royal Highness has been sufficiently restored to enable the visit to take place in November next. The ceremony of inaugurating the Reformed Legislatures which was to have been his, has been performed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, and India will not readily forget the sympathy and love which inspired him, the devoted friend of India, in the discharge of his great mission. The Prince of Wales will come to India on this occasion as the son of the King-Emperor and as the Heir to the Throne, not as the representative of any Government or to promote the interests of any political party, but in order to become personally acquainted with the Princes and the people of India and to see as much as will be possible during his visit to this most interesting country. I know that I may safely count on those who belong to this great Indian Empire, and more particularly on the representatives of the Reformed Legislatures now gathered within these walls, to give to His Royal Highness who has endeared himself to all who have been privileged to meet him, a warm welcome characteristic of the traditional loyalty of the Indian people and their devotion to the King Emperor and His House."

The Royal Visit.

The Viceroy then passed to another matter which had of late excited deep public interest. In the case of certain persons charged with munitions frauds, proceedings had been suddenly withdrawn by Government. Adverse comment was made by a large section of the Indian and English Press. When it was found that the Member for Industries, Sir Thomas Holland, had acted in the matter without consulting His Excellency the Viceroy, the volume of criticism became overwhelming and Sir Thomas Holland placed his resignation in the hands of Lord Reading. The

The Munitions Cases.

position of the Government in the matter of the prosecutions had already been explained to the public, and the references of the Viceroy in his inaugural speech represented the last chapter in this unfortunate episode, which had recently deprived India of the services of one who had done much for her industrial advancement.

"You will already have learnt that the resignation tendered by Sir Thomas Holland has been accepted by His Majesty. In communicating to me the regret, with which he had reached his conclusion, the Secretary of State expresses his general sense of the importance of the contribution which Sir Thomas Holland had made to the Industrial development of India. The Secretary of State further records his appreciation of the high ability and strenuous labours which Sir Thomas Holland devoted during the war to the task of organising and increasing the supply of munitions. His services then rendered were of the highest value, not only to India but to the Empire, which the Secretary of State gratefully recognises. I associate myself with the tribute and add only that my regret is the greater because I lose a colleague in the Council with whom I have been associated from the moment I became Viceroy. The facts and conclusions of my Government have already been placed before you in the official statement published by my Government and I need not refer to them again. The public felt, and beyond all doubt rightly felt, that the proceedings in Court had shaken the very foundations of justice. Fundamental principles of administration and justice had been violated, and the acceptance of the resignation was therefore inevitable. Our conclusions were announced only in relation to the proceedings in Court and to the omission to refer to me as the head of the Government. Lest there should be any misapprehension, I must, however, add, on my own behalf and that of my colleagues, that the existence of civil suits against the Government by the accused should be entirely disregarded in relation to the criminal case. Their unconditional withdrawal ought not to have any influence upon consideration of the withdrawal of the prosecution."

External Affairs.

The Viceroy then proceeded to survey external affairs: the then unsettled relations with Afghanistan: the operations in Waziristan: the Greco-Turkish hostilities so distressing to Indian Muslims: the representation of India on the League of Nations: the notable efforts of India's delegates at the Imperial Conference, which had raised the status of their country

in the councils of the Empire. Turning to internal affairs, he adverted with sympathy and regret to the terrible Moplah outbreak.

"It is obvious from the reports received that the ground had been carefully prepared for the purpose of creating an atmosphere favourable to violence, and no effort had been spared to rouse the passions and fury of the Moplahs. The spark which kindled the flame was the resistance by a large and hostile crowd of Moplahs, armed with swords and knives, to a lawful attempt by the Police to effect certain arrests in connection with a case of house-breaking. The Police were powerless to effect the capture of the criminals, and the significance of the incident is, that it was regarded as a defeat of the police and, therefore, of the Government.

The Moplah Outburst.

Additional troops and special police had to be drafted to Malabar in order to effect the arrests. The subsequent events are now fairly well known, although it is impossible at present to state the number of the innocent victims of the Moplahs. These events have been chronicled in the Press and I shall not recapitulate them. The situation is now, to all intents and purposes, in hand. It has been saved by the prompt and effective action of the military and naval assistance for which we are duly grateful, although some time must necessarily elapse before order can be completely restored and normal life under the civil Government resumed. But consider the sacrifice of life and property! A few Europeans and many Hindus have been murdered, communications have been obstructed, Government offices burnt and looted, and records have been destroyed, Hindu temples sacked, houses of Europeans and Hindus burnt. According to reports, Hindus were forcibly converted to Islam, and one of the most fertile tracts of South India is threatened with famine. The result has been the temporary collapse of Civil Government, offices and courts have ceased to function, and ordinary business has been brought to a standstill. European and Hindu refugees of all classes are concentrated at Calicut, and it is satisfactory to know that they are safe there. One trembles to think of the consequences if the forces of order had not prevailed for the protection of Calicut."

Non-Co-operation and Civil Disobedience.

Passing the general question of internal unrest, His Excellency remarked—"To us who are responsible for the peace and good government of this great Empire, and I trust to men of sanity and common sense in all classes of society, it must be clear that defiance of the Government and constituted authority can only result in widespread

disorder, in political chaos, in anarchy and in ruin. There are signs that the activity of the movement, or at least of one section of it, may take a form of even a more direct challenge to law and order. There has been wild talk of a general policy of disobedience to law, in some cases, I regret to say, accompanied by an open recognition that such a course must lead to disorder and bloodshed. Attempts have even been made by some fanatical followers of Islam to seduce His Majesty's soldiers and police from their allegiance, attempts that have, I am glad to say, met with no success. As head of the Government, however, I need not assure you that we shall not be deterred one hair's breadth from doing our duty. We shall continue to do all in our power to protect the lives and property of all law-abiding citizens, and to secure to them their right to pursue their lawful avocations and above all, we shall continue to enforce the ordinary law and to take care that it is respected."

After briefly surveying the solid achievements that had resulted from co-operation between the Government and the Legislature, Lord Reading expressed the anxiety of his administration to consider two questions of great moment, namely the well-being of Indian labour, and the tension which unhappily existed between Englishmen and Indians. In the first connection he referred to a bill to amend the Indian Factories Act, to Workmen's Compensation, to the protection of Trade Unions, and to the adoption of arbitration in labour disputes. In the second connection, he mentioned the desire of Government to examine the differences of legal procedure applicable to the criminal trials of Indians and of Europeans. He concluded his address, amidst sustained applause, by an eloquent appeal to the members of the Legislature to remember that their duty was not confined to their work within the Chamber, but included also the obligation of going abroad among the people.

The session thus happily inaugurated proved every whit as successful as that which had been held at Delhi in the course of the preceding cold weather.

Work of the Session.

Both the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State unanimously resolved to present an address of welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on the occasion of his forthcoming visit, as well as to extend their cordial greetings to Lord Reading. Both bodies then proceeded to deal with urgent business. Adjournments to consider the Moplah troubles displayed the steady support of the Legislature to the policy which Government was adopting, combined with the anxiety of the members

to be satisfied that the administration of Martial Law in the disturbed area was free from those blemishes which had distinguished it in certain parts of the Punjab in 1919. Among other matters which attracted the attention of the members, reference must be made to the removal of certain racial disabilities and to the improvement of the status of Indians. As a result of a resolution for the removal of distinctions between Indian and European members of the Indian Civil Service in regard to criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects ; and for the removal of distinctions between Indians and Europeans in regard to trial, sentence and appeal, Government agreed to appoint a Committee to consider what amendments could be made in the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, and to report on the best methods of giving effect to their proposals. Equality of status for Indians in the East African Colonies and Protectorates in accordance with the Government of India's despatch of the 21st of October 1921 was also demanded, and Government gave a satisfactory assurance that it was determined to abide by the principle of equal citizenship. The admission of Indians to responsible positions in the Secretariat was also requested, and Government agreed that Indians should be given opportunities for becoming qualified for the posts referred to. The topic of constitutional advance also occupied the attention of both Chambers. A suggestion that the Legislature should adopt the practice followed at Westminster of voting an address after the speech from the Throne, was set aside for examination. A resolution relating to the grant of provincial autonomy and responsibility in the Central Government on the termination of the existing Legislatures, and the grant of full Dominion status at the end of 9 years was debated at length. Finally a formula suggested by Government as summing up the general attitude of the Assembly was moved as an amendment and carried. This recommended that the Governor General in Council should convey to the Secretary of State the Assembly's view that the progress made by India on the path of Responsible Government warrants a re-examination and revision of the present constitution at an earlier date than 1931. Financial matters also occupied the attention of the Assembly, supplementary grants being carefully scrutinised, and sanctioned with discretion. All demands were passed save that which was proposed to meet the expenses of the projected Indian tour of Lord Lytton's Committee dealing with the grievances of Indian students in

Racial Matters.

Constitutional Matters.

Finance.

the United Kingdom. A noticeable feature of the discussions on the supplementary grants was the manner in which members of the Finance Committee supported Government in putting forward items they had themselves previously passed. This Committee now constitutes a link between the Government and the Legislature which promises fully to justify the wisdom of those responsible for the experiment. A further addition to the strength of the position occupied by the Assembly resulted from the introduction of the new Income Tax Bill, which relates solely to matters of administration and, in accordance with the English practice, leaves the imposition of any particular rate of tax to come up every year before the Legislature. Much useful legislation of other kinds was also undertaken.

Legislative Measures.

Six resolutions dealing with the recommendations of the Geneva Labour Conference were passed; effect was given to the recommendations of the Press Act Committee by the introduction of a Government measure: and some private Bills of considerable importance were introduced. Of all these particulars will be found elsewhere. Social reform occupied a certain amount of attention, among the topics discussed being the introduction of religious and moral education in aided and Government schools and colleges; and the temperance movement, with which the Assembly expressed its sympathy. Consistent attention was directed to Industrial affairs; resolutions dealing with the purchase of Government materials, with the encouragement of sugar industry, with the Railway Committee Report being eagerly debated. Important resolutions designed to encourage the separation of judicial and executive functions, dealing with the construction of the Sukkur Barrage Irrigation project, and with the reduction of contributions from the provinces to the Central Government, were also adopted.

Industrial Matters.

The output of work during this session was large; while the atmosphere in which it was achieved was at once cordial and full of promise for the future. Among other noteworthy events, mention should be made of the initiation of the party system. Certain members turned their organising capacity to the creation of a group which should vote *en bloc* on certain agreed issues. They owed much to Dr. Gour, a well-known lawyer from the Central Provinces who had made his mark from the commencement of the first session, as well as to the debating ability of certain Madras representatives, among whom Mr. Rangachariar, Mr. Seshagiri Iyer and Mr. Subrahmanayam, deserve particular

mention. A member from Burma, Mr. Ginwalla, was appointed chie whip, and the leading figures of the party were placed in charge of particular topics—finance, education and the like. These early beginnings promise to produce considerable results in the future.

The Democratic Party.

CHAPTER IV.

Later Developments.

The Position in October.

During the month of October Mr. Gandhi devoted his personal attention to the cloth boycott campaign, which received considerable stimulus from his tours in the United Provinces, Bengal and Madras. In the last area, however, the effect upon Hindu opinion of the Moplah atrocities was already becoming marked, and evidence was not lacking of the increasing labours sustained by Mr. Gandhi in his endeavours to preserve the solidity of his party. At this time, it would appear, he experienced some difficulties both from the Khilafat extremists, who were frankly disappointed by his continued insistence upon the canon of non-violence, and from the shrewd politicians of Maharashtra, who failed to discern in what manner political Swaraj could be achieved through the cloth campaign. During the month of October, indeed, it seemed that the non-co-operation movement was weakening ; certainly the propaganda on the part of Moderates against it was increasing in vehemence.

But the damage which it had already wrought was apparent. Racial feeling increased to such a degree that the position of British officers in the various services became in certain localities almost unbearable. Deep and bitter complaints were voiced at the impossibility of serving India effectively in an atmosphere of hostility, distrust and persecution. Moreover, defiance of constituted authority was plainly on the increase ; and despite the best efforts of the administration, a spirit of disorder was spreading. The prohibition of mass civil disobedience in the Congress Working Committee held in October, seemed to exert a temporarily depressing influence upon the progress of non-co-operation. The prosecution of the Ali Brothers, to which reference was made in the last chapter, passed off quietly—a severe blow to the pretensions of the aggressive section of their party. In the course of the trial which took place at Karachi in October, the Judge pointed out that however permissible the Khilafat movement might have been in the earlier stages, those who were controlling it

soon began to rely upon dangerous religious propaganda. They openly gloried in hatred of the British Government, and maintained "first, that their religion compels them to do certain acts : secondly, that no law which restrains them from doing those acts which their religion compels them to do has any validity : and thirdly, that in answer to the charge of breaking the law of the land, it is sufficient to raise and prove the plea that the act which is alleged to be an offence is one which is enjoined by their religion." The Ali Brothers were sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

Trial of the Ali Brothers.

Objects of the Prince's Tour.

Meanwhile preparations were being busily pursued for the reception of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. In reply to the allegations, already noticed, that the Prince was coming to serve some political end, Lord Reading made plain the real position beyond all possibility of doubt. "I desire, with all the authority at my command, emphatically to repudiate these suggestions, and to assure the Indian people that neither I nor my Government have ever had the faintest intention of using His Royal Highness' visit for political purposes. I fully acknowledge that there are many matters of public policy upon which serious and even acute differences of opinon obtain in this country. I and my Government have always been and still are, most desirous of reconciling these differences and solving these problems. But the Prince of Wales stands apart from and above all such political controversies. His Royal Highness' visit to India is in accordance with the precedent set by his august Father and Grandfather, and he comes to India as the Heir to the Throne and the future Emperor of India, and in that capacity alone. His reception will not be a test of opinions that may be held on the political problems and differences of the day, but will be a test of the loyalty and attachment of the people of India towards the Crown itself."

Preparations for the Visit.

It would be unreasonable to maintain that the larger portion of the Indian people required any such admonition, since from the moment when the visit of His Royal Highness was finally settled, considerable enthusiasm prevailed among those many persons who desired to set eyes upon their future Emperor. Care was taken that India's welcome to the Prince should be truly Indian in character. An influential Royal Visit Advisory Committee, on which sat Ruling Princes and Indian Politicians, was constituted at Simla to assist Government in settling

the details of the Prince's programme. Separate sub-committees dealt with Press arrangements, finance and others of the multifarious topics which emerged for discussion. Very eager was the competition on the part of various interests for the honour of entertaining the Prince and the restrictions imposed by a four-months time-limit resulted in many heart-burnings. In the Provinces, preparations were equally active. Reception Committees and Programme Committees were constituted, principally of Indians, in all those places which the Prince was to visit. Had one-half of the engagements so eagerly suggested in each town been suffered to stand, it may safely be said that scarcely in a year could His Royal Highness have fulfilled them. Great was the tact and infinite the patience required of those in whose hands the final decision lay. At length all was ready. A certain amount of disappointment, naturally, was caused; but on the whole, the fixture list commended itself to all. As the days drew on, the Press of India devoted more and more attention to the personality of the Prince; to his Imperial activities; to his various pronouncements. There was no doubt as to the interest which such information possessed for the reading public.

Non-co-operation Activities.

In November, however, the non-co-operation movement assumed a new and infinitely more dangerous aspect. At the beginning of the month the All-India Congress Committee authorised every province to commence civil disobedience, subject to the fulfilment of certain conditions, of which the most important were the guarantee of a non-violent atmosphere, and the complete boycott of foreign cloth. The Provincial Congress Committee of Gujarat took the lead and allowed the Bardoli and Anand *talugs* to prepare for mass civil disobedience. In the former area the movement was to begin on November the 23rd under the personal direction of Mr. Gandhi. Meanwhile this leader issued a manifesto calling upon all Government servants who could support themselves to leave their service and rally to the Congress flag; advising all localities to organize meetings and support the Karachi resolutions for which the Ali Brothers had been prosecuted; and peremptorily enjoining the complete boycott of foreign cloth before the end of the month. Thus stimulated, the activities of the non-co-operation party redoubled. The number of Khilafat and Non-co-operation meetings rose to unprecedented heights, and a steady stream of inflammatory oratory was poured forth. Hostility to Government increased, encouraging the tendency towards general lawlessness. The

volunteer movement became more formidable: intimidation was freely practised, and the police were molested in the exercise of their duty. The design of erecting an administration parallel to that of Government, which should be ready on the slightest warning to take over the whole regulation of the country, was freely bruited. Some idea of the programme which local leaders intended to follow may be gathered from the speech of Mr. Dip Narayan Singh, a well-known non-co-operator in Bihar. According to him, a notice calling upon Government to grant Swaraj within seven days would first be served upon the chief civil officer present in the locality selected for civil disobedience. Subsequently the residents of that particular locality would be directed to disobey all orders and laws of Government, and to refuse to pay taxes, to register documents, or to perform any of the ordinary acts of recognition. At the same time police stations and Courts would be surrounded, and the officials told to deposit their uniforms and other badges of office. Thereafter police stations, offices, and Courts would be treated as Swaraj property. The whole of this ambitious programme was to be achieved by insistence upon non-violence; but, as may be well imagined, announcements of the kind quoted were not calculated to inspire the ignorant and the unlettered with any reluctance to employ force in the achievement of that Swaraj which, as they had frequently been told, would prove for them a golden age. All too soon this became undeniably apparent.

Revolutionary Designs.

November 17th, the day of the Prince's arrival in Bombay dawned with all the splendid promise of an Indian winter morning. To welcome the Prince there had gathered at Bombay not merely the Viceroy and a large number of Ruling Princes, but also leading business men and landed aristocrats from all parts of the Presidency. Amidst scenes of great enthusiasm His Royal Highness landed on the shore of India, and was received rapturously by a large and distinguished gathering. As a fitting commencement of his beneficent activities, he delivered a message from His Majesty the King Emperor :—

The Prince Arrives.

"On this day, when my son lands for the first time upon your shores I wish to send through him my greetings to you, the Princes and Peoples of India. His coming is a token and a renewal of the pledges of affection which it has been the heritage of our House to re-affirm to you. My father when Prince of Wales counted it his privilege to see

The Imperial Message.

and seeing to understand the great Empire in the East over which it was to be his destiny to rule ; and I recall with thankfulness and pride that when he was called to the Throne, it fell to me to follow his illustrious example. With this same hope and in this same spirit my son is with you to-day. The thought of his arrival brings with a welcome vividness to my mind the happy memories I have stored of what I myself have learned in India ; its charm and beauty, its immemorial history, its noble monuments, and above all, the devotion of India's faithful people, since proved, as if by fire, in their response to the Empire's call in the hour of its greatest need. These memories will ever be with me as I trace his steps, my heart is with him as he moves amongst you, and with mine the heart of the Queen Empress, whose love for India is no less than mine. To friends whose loyalty we and our fathers have treasured, he brings this message of trust and hope. My sympathy in all that passes in your lives is unabated. During recent years my thoughts have been yet more constantly with you. Throughout the civilised world, the foundations of social order have been tested by war and change. Wherever citizenship exists, it has had to meet the test, and India like other countries has been called on to face new and special problems of her own. For this task her armoury is in new powers and new responsibilities with which she has been equipped. That with the help of these, aided by the ready guidance of my Government and its officers, you will bring those problems to an issue worthy of your historic past and of happiness for your future ; that all disquiet will vanish in well-ordered progress, is my earnest wish and my confident belief. Your anxieties and your rejoicings are my own. In all that may touch your happiness, in all that gives you hope and promotes your welfare, I feel with you in the spirit of sympathy. My son has followed from afar your fortunes. It is now his ambition, by his coming among you, to ripen good will into a yet fuller understanding. I trust and believe when he leaves your shores your hearts will follow him and his will stay with you, and that one link more will be added to the golden chain of sympathy which for these many years has held my throne to India. And it is my warmest prayer that wisdom and contentment growing hand in hand will lead India into increasing national greatness within a free Empire, the Empire for which I labour and for which, if it be the Divine Will, my son shall labour after me."

The enthusiasm aroused among the spectators by this gracious message was confirmed and augmented by the Prince's own reply to the address of the Bombay Corporation. In a few simple sentences, spoken

straight from the heart, he outlined the purpose of his mission and the spirit in which he undertook it.

The Keynote of the Visit.

"I need not tell you that I have been looking forward to my visit and have been eagerly awaiting the opportunities of seeing India and making friends there. I want to appreciate at first hand all that India is, and has done and can do. I want to grasp your difficulties and to understand your aspirations. I want you to know me and I want to know you."

The procession of His Royal Highness from the Apollo Bunder to Government House was a conspicuous triumph. Every yard of the route, more than four miles long, was crowded with spectators, and at the lowest computation there must have been over two hundred thousand people assembled. The enthusiasm spread like wild-fire, the warmth and volume of the welcome increased at every yard. Thus it was that Bombay welcomed her honoured visitor—a right royal welcome in the fullest sense of the terms.

Fruits of Non-co-operation.

Unfortunately there was another side to the picture. The local non-co-operators had for some weeks been concentrating their efforts upon the task of spoiling the unanimity of the welcome. They had inoculated the more turbulent elements of the population with a determination to break the peace. Mr. Gandhi addressed a meeting held simultaneously with the Prince's landing, at which the attendance was disappointing. But the hooligan element, giving no heed to his admonitions against the use of violence, was even at that moment engaged in terrorising those other elements of the population who desired to welcome the Prince. Parsi and European passers-by were severely assaulted by mobs armed with bludgeons. Tramcars were damaged, rails torn up, motor cars destroyed, and liquor shops set on fire. Disorder developed rapidly owing to the withdrawal of numbers of police and military to the processional route. As soon as the forces of order arrived on the scene, the situation became more quiet. Numerous arrests were made and on several occasions fire had to be opened upon violent mobs. Serious rioting lasted for nearly three days, as a result of which the total casualty list amounted to 53 killed and approximately 400 wounded. Too late, Mr. Gandhi attempted to stop the disturbances by personal appeals, and he issued a series of pathetic proclamations in which he sternly rebuked his followers and stated that the outbreak of mob

violence had convinced him that his hopes of reviving mass civil disobedience were illusory. "With non-violence on our lips" he wrote, "we have terrorised those who happened to differ from us. The *Swaraj* that I have witnessed during the last two days has stunk in my nostrils." And he openly admitted his responsibility. "I am more instrumental than any other in bringing into being a spirit of revolt. I find myself not fully capable of controlling and disciplining that spirit." Nor was the trouble of the 17th of November confined to Bombay. Throughout Calcutta and the principal towns of Northern India, there was a general cessation of business, produced in the majority of cases by undisguised and open intimidation on the part of "national volunteers." Violence and obstruction of every kind were freely employed, inflicting the gravest inconvenience upon law-abiding citizens, and for the moment discounting the authority of the State. The terrorism practised by the volunteers not merely transcended all bounds but was widespread, organised and simultaneous. It became clear that unless prompt and adequate measures were taken, the stability of the established order would be threatened by the almost complete effacement of authority.

The Volunteers at Work.

The ebullition of mob violence in Bombay and elsewhere made a deep impression upon Mr. Gandhi. Indeed his embarrassingly candid pronouncements aroused the resentment of certain of his followers who shared neither his high ideals nor his altruistic motives. In previous portions of this narrative mention has been made of Mr. Gandhi's expression of repentance for the regrettable consequences which from time to time have resulted from his campaign In no case, as we have seen, has that repentance or regret been of such force and duration as to cause him to suspend his activities. But the Bombay events seriously shook his belief in the capacity of India to sustain, in a non-violent manner, the acid test of civil disobedience. Accordingly, he suspended his intention of starting civil disobedience on the 23rd at Bardoli, and announced his determination to concentrate upon the production of a non-violent atmosphere.

Mr. Gandhi Shaken.

The lamentable outbreak at Bombay, when taken in conjunction with the simultaneous *hartals*, violence, obstruction and lawlessness in many other parts of India, brought Government face to face with a new and formidable aspect of the non-co-operation movement.

It had for some time been plain that the outbreaks of the last few months were leading to the growth of a dangerous spirit of anarchy and an increasing disregard for lawful authority.

Government Move.

As previously mentioned, Government had been throughout alive to the serious nature of Mr. Gandhi's campaign ; but they had persisted in their declared policy towards it, not because they distrusted their own powers, not because they were fettered by higher authority, but because they believed it necessary to carry with them, in any steps taken against the non-co-operation movement, the approval and acquiescence of Indian opinion. They knew that this movement was largely engendered and sustained by nationalist aspirations in the case of the Hindus, and by religious feeling in the case of the Muhammadans—two motives which inevitably appealed strongly to many persons who did not adopt Mr. Gandhi's programme. They realised that in the changed position of India under the new constitution it was impossible, without damage to the declared policy of His Majesty's Government, to embark upon a campaign of repression which, if effective, would have intensified racial feeling, paralysed the Liberals, and nullified the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Therefore, while consistently punishing open incitements to violence, and pursuing the other activities already described, they had exercised towards those who professed to observe non-violence as much forbearance as was compatible with their own responsibilities. The disorders which had for some time afflicted India assumed a new and more dangerous aspect when viewed in conjunction with the general *hartals* and widespread intimidation of November 17th. Further, it was plain that the campaign which had produced these untoward results was augmenting rather than diminishing in violence. On the one hand, the fervid oratory displayed at non-co-operation meetings was producing a cumulative effect upon the mentality of the average man. On the other, it was undeniable that all proceedings under the ordinary criminal law had proved ineffective to restrain the violence and intimidation upon which many of the volunteer associations had embarked. Finally the announcement of a campaign of civil disobedience in Gujarat seemed to threaten that this movement, if not decisively checked, would spread to other provinces. In these circumstances, Government determined to supplement their anti-non-co-operation activities by employing, for the defence of society and of the state, certain Acts conferring extraordinary powers upon the Executive. Local Governments were accordingly informed that for the purpose

of checking the increasing volume of inflammatory speeches the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to any district in which it was considered necessary would be sanctioned. They were also instructed that the provisions of Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 should be vigorously employed for combating the illegal activities of the volunteer associations, whose drilling, picketing and intimidation were threatening the peace of the country. The Government of India further called for more vigorous action on the part of the police in protecting peaceful citizens from terrorism: urged that every effort should be made to prevent the seduction of constables and soldiers: and instructed the provincial administrations to deal promptly with incitements to violence, to sedition, to the inception of civil disobedience.

Local Governments were not slow to take action on these lines. Some had already issued instructions to their officers to the same effect. From this time forward, a steadily increasing pressure was exerted upon those forms of non-co-operation activity which were directed towards the effacement of law and order.

Reception of the New Policy.

The simultaneous outbreaks of November 17th. and the intimidation so widely practised, came as a great shock to Liberal opinion. It was now clear to all reasonable Indians that whatever Mr. Gandhi's intentions might be, the fruit of his campaign was little short of anarchy. A strong wave of protest passed over the country. In this European opinion emphatically joined, and Government was attacked with considerable vigour for having allowed the non-co-operation movement to assume such a dangerous aspect. Civil Guards were organised in certain places to assist the police: a determination was evinced to eradicate terrorism. While the local administrations were not slow to take advantage of the change in public sentiment, Lord Reading himself embraced the opportunity afforded by the presentation to him of various addresses to make plain the position of his Government. He emphasised in his replies the determination of the State to spare no effort to protect peaceful law-abiding citizens against violence, coercion, intimidation, or other breaches of the law. But among the first effects of the action taken by Government against the volunteers was the arrest of a considerable number of high-minded and much respected persons who were believed by many Indians to be animated by motives of disinterested patriotism. The prosecution and conviction both of these people

and of a number of immature and misguided students led to a disappointing revulsion on the part of moderate sentiment. Further, the Seditious Meetings Act falls within the category of those enactments which Indian opinion stigmatises as "repressive"; and its application, even in the circumstances already related, gave rise to uneasiness. There became manifest a noticeable inclination to represent the new policy as an interference, for political purposes, with the rights of freedom of speech and of freedom of association; and on this ground a disposition was shown to make common cause with the extremists in attacking Government. With some members of the Moderate Party, this attitude seems to have been due to the belief that the latest manifestation of Government policy was calculated to cement that unity among the non-co-operators which was now fast breaking down under the influence of internal dissensions; and to supply the movement with a new and undesirable lease of life. In part also, it seems to have been due to sympathy for high-minded, if mistaken, people who were the earliest victims of the majesty of the law; and in part, to a general belief that the powers now employed by the executive were being misused in an oppressive manner by subordinates. At this juncture Government acted with the utmost care. The key-note of official policy was to allow the Moderates to experience for themselves that bankruptcy in reason and statesmanship which distinguished the extreme section of the non-co-operating party. To the success of this policy, which resulted in the gradual reassuring of Liberal opinion, the great judicial reputation of Lord Reading, and the admirable temper of his speeches, materially contributed. Instructions were issued that in the prosecution of volunteers, evidence should be recorded in full and all legal formalities scrupulously observed: and consistent efforts were made to dispel the impression — which the non-co-operators steadily fostered—that Government was embarking upon a policy of indiscriminate arrests and vindictive severity towards even the most peaceful activities of Mr. Gandhi's party. When certain of the Moderates displayed a great anxiety to arrange a compromise by means of a Round Table Conference, Lord Reading did indeed make plain the fact that nothing could be done until the non-co-operation party discontinued open breaches of the law, and the practice of intimidation; but he did not discourage efforts which were so plainly well-

Moderate Uneasiness.

Tactful Handling.

The "Round Table" Project.

intentioned. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the other would-be peace-makers found that it was Mr. Gandhi who was adamant. As if anxious to discount the charges of weakness freely brought against him by his own followers in connection with his Bombay pronouncements, he demanded, as a preliminary to any conference, the withdrawal of the recent proscription of the volunteer organisations and the release of all persons—including the Ali Brothers—recently convicted for what he described as non-violent activities. He on his part announced his intention of continuing the recruitment of his volunteers and of pushing on preparations for civil disobedience, the project of which he had again revived. Accordingly when the deputation of intermediaries waited upon the Viceroy in Calcutta, they were not in a position to put forward, on behalf of the non-co-operators, any pledges of good behaviour of the kind which Government could accept. Lord Reading's reply, delivered on the 21st of December, fully explained the reasons which led Government to enforce special Acts; emphasised his determination to protect law-abiding subjects, and, further, in view of the approaching visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, conveyed grave warning as to the effect likely to be produced on the public and Parliament of the United Kingdom by affronts offered to the Heir to the Throne. His Excellency insisted also as a condition precedent even to the discussion of any project of a conference, on the imperative necessity for the discontinuance of the unlawful activities of the non-co-operation party. This speech, combined with the uncompromising attitude of Mr. Gandhi, exercised a steadying effect on Moderate opinion, which was shortly confirmed in its traditional dislike of the non-co-operation movement by the events of the next four weeks. When the Annual Conference of the Liberal Federation met in Allahabad, sympathy was expressed for the difficulties of Government, and while the administration was requested to exercise every care in the execution of its new policy, that policy was supported and endorsed.

Mr. Gandhi's Attitude.

While these events were in progress, the Prince had been steadily pursuing his tour of India. The welcome which had been given to him by the responsible sections of the population in Bombay found an enthusiastic echo in Poona, whither he proceeded to lay the foundation stone of the All-India Shivaji Memorial. The character of the duty which he was undertaking, combined with the Prince's own personal charm, to make him

The Prince's Tour.

the idol of the great landlords and the sturdy peasantry of Mahrashtra. Throughout the whole course of his tour, no scenes were more impressive than the great outburst of popular devotion which took place at the ancient capital of the Maratha Empire. After a few more days at Bombay, rendered notable for the ever-growing enthusiasm even of elements previously recalcitrant, the Prince started on a lengthy tour of the Indian States. Baroda, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, all welcomed him with the greatest delight. From Bharatpur, early in December, the Prince once again entered British India. At Lucknow despite the efforts of the local non-co-operators, he received an enthusiastic welcome both from the inhabitants of the city and from the rustics of the countryside. He delighted all who were privileged to come into contact with him—officials, serving soldiers, policemen, pensioners—by his frank and kindly interest, his sportsmanship and his affability. He won the heart of Lucknow—as indeed, he did of every place whose inhabitants were free to meet him. But his visit to Allahabad and Benares almost synchronised with the arrest, for defiance of the law, of certain leading non-co-operators greatly beloved by the student community. In consequence, in both these places, the reception given to His Royal Highness was disappointing. After a week's shooting in Nepal, he came to Patna, where again his welcome was excellent, although its unanimity was to some extent marred by a *hartal*. Thence he passed to Calcutta. Here, the non-co-operators, in defiance alike of prudence and propriety, had made great efforts, to procure a boycott of the festivities connected with the visit. Again, the charm of his personality conquered. On the first day *hartal* was observed in the northern part of the city, but his reception by the loyal elements of the population was none the less enthusiastic. Thereafter all difficulties ceased. Even the non-co-operating party, against their will, as it were, found themselves attracted to the festivities which marked that brilliant week. Before he left for Burma, on the eve of the New Year, he had succeeded in winning the hearts of thousands. There was a perceptible relaxation of the political tension and all law-abiding citizens breathed more freely for his visit.

His Personal Triumphs.

The meeting of the Indian National Congress and of the All-India Muslim League which took place in December at Ahmedabad attracted little attention. For one thing a large number of the more prominent leaders were at the moment in prison for their defiance of the law

The Congress and Muslim League.

For another, the presence of the Prince of Wales in Calcutta, and the brilliant festivities which accompanied his welcome distracted public attention from what is normally the principal journalistic event of Christmas week. But undiscouraged by these symptoms, Mr. Gandhi and such of his supporters as rallied to Ahmedabad proceeded to formulate resolutions of a type more dangerous even than those to which they had previously given their adherence. It was determined that the volunteer organisations should be extended, and that all persons should be invited to join them for the purpose of organising civil disobedience. This was defined as the deliberate and wilful breach of State-made non-moral laws, for the purpose of diminishing the authority of or overthrowing, the State. Individual civil disobedience was sanctioned immediately; while mass civil disobedience, of an aggressive character, was to be undertaken as soon as the country had been adequately prepared for it. To the process of preparation the whole of the activities of the Congress were now to be directed. In the course of the discussions Mr. Gandhi, who was appointed as the sole repository of the executive authority of the Congress, with power to nominate his own successor, announced that Lord Reading must clearly understand that the non-co-operators were at war with the Government. Advanced as these resolutions might seem they did not go so far as the extreme section of the Khilafat party desired. The hopes of this section had recently suffered a severe blow by the conclusion of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty, to which reference is made in the first chapter of this Report. That the leading Muslim Kingdom of Central Asia should have bound herself to neighbourly relations with the Government which they had stigmatised as unholy, was somewhat embarrassing. Hence, while sober Hindu and Muslim opinion was thereby much relieved, the more fanatical Khilafatists persisted in their attitude. Maulana Hasrat Mohani, the President of the All-India Muslim League, frankly voiced the preference of his section of opinion for an immediate declaration of complete independence, unaccompanied by any embarrassing prohibition of the use of force. He also defended the conduct of the Moplahs towards the Hindus on the plea that in the course of "defensive war for the sake of their religion" they were hindered and not helped by non-Muslim neighbours. In the Congress he expressed the feeling of many people among the rank and file of the non-co-operators, when he challenged, at least by implication, the success of Mr. Gandhi's non-violent campaign as evidenced by a year of trial. And

Further Aggression.

Mr. Gandhi's Difficulties.

although Mr. Gandhi's personal influence was sufficient once more to unite the divergent sections of his followers into the appearance of unity, there can be little doubt that the tone of the Ahmedabad debates materially assisted in banishing from his mind the remembrance of the Bombay tragedy. He began once more to resume the thread of his former activities, and to revive the scheme of initiating civil disobedience at Bardoli. But the truth is that his influence as a political leader was now beginning to decline. While his personality still excited all the old reverence, the faith of his followers in the efficacy of his programme was severely shaken. It was becoming apparent to all that non-co-operation had failed to realise the expectations of its begetter. Swaraj had not been realised, despite successive postponements of the date of its arrival ; and the passage of December 31st without the introduction of the millennium, came as a severe awakening to many simple souls. Government was stronger than ever ; the volunteer movement was steadily succumbing to the pressure of the authorities ; the stream of seditious eloquence, both from press and platform, was diminishing to insignificant proportions. Nevertheless, Mr. Gandhi, so his followers realised, was still the main asset of non-co-operation. He cast over it the halo of his own sanctity : his personality alone could lend a show of unanimity to the rapidly diverging aims of conflicting elements. Without his name as their talisman, the influence of local 'leaders' over the masses would be small indeed. Hence along with a growing inclination to question the infallibility of his political foresight, there went a continued realisation of his indispensability. But even this was to be sadly shaken in the course of the next three months.

Renewed Attempts at Conference.

In the middle of January a number of politicians outside the Congress ranks, undiscouraged by the previous failure of other mediators, attempted once more to arrange a basis for a Conference between the non-co-operators and Government. This Conference was presided over by Sir C. Sankaran Nair who had recently resigned his membership of the Secretary of State's Council in order to assume high office in an Indian State. Mr. Gandhi attended, in the capacity of an adviser, but to the disgust and disappointment of those who had arranged the Conference, his attitude was every whit as unyielding as that which had led to the breakdown of the previous attempt at a compromise. In return for impossible conditions which Government were asked to accept without question, he reserved the right to continue the enrolment of volunteers,



and to push forward his preparations for civil disobedience. This attitude led to the withdrawal of Sir C. Sankaran Nair, who not only condemned the attitude of the non-co-operators in a widely published and influential communication to the Press, but further damaged their cause and exposed their pretensions in a powerful pamphlet. The organisers of the Conference, however, persisted in their well-nigh hopeless task until Mr. Gandhi himself cut the ground from under their feet by issuing an ultimatum to the Viceroy. In order to comprehend this attitude, it is necessary to remember that Mr. Gandhi's position at the time was somewhat embarrassing. The measures taken by Government against the volunteers were rapidly proving successful to a degree which the non-co-operation party had certainly not anticipated. Recruits of the right type were now no longer coming forward in adequate numbers; and whenever an impressive demonstration was desired, it was generally found necessary to hire men for the occasion. This not merely caused heavy inroads upon the funds available, but in addition, adversely affected the character and composition of the volunteer bodies, who quickly gained a reputation in face of which it was useless to expound the patriotic nature of their activities. They prevented doctors from going on errands of mercy: they even exhumed and mutilated a corpse: they outraged public decency and provoked peaceful persons to bitter resentment. When in addition they made the arrival of the Prince in Madras the excuse for attempted terrorism, at once futile and irritating, coupled with destruction of property, they exasperated many persons previously in sympathy with non-co-operation. Official measures against the volunteers, so far from being resented, as Mr. Gandhi had hoped, were in many cases openly welcomed: in most cases hailed with secret relief. Being thus deprived by gradual degrees of his principal weapon, Mr. Gandhi seems to have cherished two designs. In the first place, he was determined to make a bid for Moderate support; and in the second place, he made up his mind, as a last resource, to put into practice that plan of civil disobedience whose dangers he so vividly realized. It seems probable at this juncture, that he underestimated alike the strength of Government and the damage which his own movement had suffered in the public eye from its many failures to redeem confident prophecies—notably the prophecy concerning Swaraj. The ultimatum which he addressed to the Viceroy at the beginning of February was plainly intended to detach the Liberal Party from Government. He declared that a camp-

Further Difficulties of Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi's Ultimatum.

aign of civil disobedience had been forced on the non-co-operation party in order to secure the elementary rights of free speech, free association, and a free press. These rights, he asserted, the Government had sought to repress by its recent application of the Seditious Meetings and Criminal Law Amendment Act. He charged the Viceroy with having summarily rejected the proposal for a Conference, although the terms accepted by the recent Working Committee of Congress were in accordance with the requirements of His Excellency as indicated in his Calcutta speech. Mr. Gandhi announced at the same time that should the Government agree to the release of all prisoners convicted and under-trial for non-violent activities, and undertake to refrain absolutely from interference with the non-co-operation party, he would be prepared to postpone civil disobedience of an aggressive character till the offenders now in jail had had an opportunity of reviewing the whole situation. He insisted, however, on continuing the propaganda of non-co-operation. Now in the issue of this ultimatum, Mr. Gandhi had reckoned without his host. It appears evident that he believed Government to be on the point of yielding, and that it merely remained for him to propose the terms which he would accept. But to the dismay of his party, the Government of India retorted by a powerful and closely reasoned statement. They emphatically repudiated his assertion that the campaign of civil disobedience had been forced on the non-co-operation party, recapitulating the circumstances which had necessitated the adoption of comprehensive and drastic measures against the volunteers. They also disposed conclusively of the allegation that Lord Reading had summarily rejected the proposals for a Conference. They criticised in withering fashion the demands put forward by Mr. Gandhi, and concluded with a solemn warning that mass civil disobedience if adopted, would be met with measures of sternness and severity. Mr. Gandhi's position thus became more difficult than ever. He had entirely failed to overawe Government into accepting his terms; the Liberal party showed no signs of changing their attitude. He was practically thrown back upon his final resource, namely civil disobedience; but he made a last effort to win over the Moderates by issuing a reply, which indeed convinced few, to the official communiqué.

Government Reply.

When the new policy of Government came up for discussion in the Reformed Councils, both Central and Provincial, Mr. Gandhi's last hope of detaching the Moderates must have vanished. In Bengal, indeed, a motion for the suspension of the new policy was carried against

Government : but the Legislature was satisfied when the submission of the proceedings against the volunteers to the scrutiny of a High Court Judge was promised. Elsewhere, and notably in the Indian Legislature, the elected members approved, in sober and weighty fashion, of the action taken by the authorities.

Preparations for Civil Disobedience.

Civil disobedience being his last resort, to civil disobedience did Mr. Gandhi now propose to turn. In some districts of the east coast of the Madras Presidency, a campaign against the payment of Government dues had already begun, only to collapse in a few weeks before the determined opposition of the local authorities. Mr. Gandhi himself went to Bardoli in order to supervise the commencement of civil disobedience in that taluk. But at the critical moment there occurred a disorder of the very type which Mr. Gandhi had obviously feared. At Chauri Chaura in the United Provinces, a terrible outrage occurred on the 4th of February. Some twenty-one policemen and rural watchmen were murdered in the most deliberate manner by a mob of "volunteers" and infuriated peasantry. Both the brutality of this outrage and its unprovoked character combined to deal the final blow to Mr. Gandhi's hopes of immediate success. Responsible opinion all over the country, irrespective of creed and race, was horrified at this sudden revelation of the appalling possibilities of non-co-operation. Men felt that they had been walking insecurely upon the edge of an abyss, into which they might at any moment be precipitated. A recrudescence of agrarian trouble in the United Provinces, under the form of an *eka* or "one big union" of anti-landlord cultivators ; a serious strike, obviously political in its bearing, upon the East Indian Railway– all combined to arouse public opinion against non-co-operation. To his credit be it said, Mr. Gandhi did not hesitate. Whether, as some have maintained, he made Chauri Chaura the excuse for suspending a movement which he had always regarded as dangerous and now knew to be, at least for the present, hopeless ; or whether this outbreak convinced him of the impossibility of carrying civil disobedience to a successful conclusion by non-violent methods, may be open to question. The fact remains that at an emergent meeting of the Working Committee held at Bardoli on the 11th and the 12th of February, he resolved to suspend mass civil disobedience forthwith, and to instruct his followers to suspend every preparation of an offensive nature. He further advised Congress organisations to stop all activities designed to court arrest and

Chauri Chaura.

Bardoli.

imprisonment, together with all volunteer processions and public meetings designed to defy the notifications prohibiting them. The only picketing which he was now prepared to permit was that carried on by volunteers of known good character in connection with liquor shops. He advised that all Congress organisations should confine themselves first to the enlistment of at least one crore of members for the Indian National Congress; secondly, to the popularization of the spinning-wheel, hand-spun and hand-woven cloth; thirdly, to the organisation of national schools; fourthly, to the salvation of the depressed classes; fifthly, to the organisation of the temperance campaign, and sixthly, to the organisation of village and town arbitration committees for the private settlement of disputes.

Delhi.

The Bardoli resolutions, it is safe to say, came with an even greater shock to the rank and file of the non-co-operating party than did the outrage which had occasioned them. From this moment onwards may be traced a marked decline of confidence in Mr. Gandhi's political leadership. While his personality was still reverenced, his wisdom in matters political was from henceforward openly and boldly questioned. A fortnight later, when the All-India Congress Committee met at Delhi to consider the Bardoli resolutions, his personal ascendancy even over his immediate followers was severely taxed. Delegates from Maharashtra emphatically stated that the haste with which mass civil disobedience was twice recommended and with equal haste twice suspended, had culminated in national humiliation. The extreme Khilafatists were even more dissatisfied, and it seemed doubtful whether they would much longer be amenable to his influence. In face of opposition of a kind more determined than he had hitherto encountered, Mr. Gandhi was compelled to modify in some degree the strictness of his Bardoli resolutions. While he was successful in saving his face through the confirmation of the Bardoli ban against mass civil disobedience, he was compelled to accept the position that individual civil disobedience, whether defensive or aggressive, might still be commenced by permission of the Provincial Congress Committees. Further, individual civil disobedience was defined in a manner which made the distinction between individual and mass civil disobedience of little practical moment. He was also obliged to extend his permission regarding picketing to foreign-cloth-shops as well as to liquor-shops. On these terms, the Bardoli resolutions were in name confirmed. But whatever compromises Mr. Gandhi might be

compelled to adopt when confronted with the growing restiveness of various sections of his adherents, he himself was plainly convinced in his own mind that mass civil disobedience or anything equivalent to it was for the moment entirely impossible. A remarkable feature of the political discussions in the press and on the platform during the next few weeks is the entire disappearance of the Delhi resolutions—which were quietly dropped by Mr. Gandhi—and the reversion to the policy outlined at Bardoli.

The Prince at Delhi.

Meanwhile the Prince, in pursuance of the concluding portion of his tour programme, was journeying northward to Delhi. From a popular point of view, His Royal Highness' visits to the capital of the Southern Presidency, to the great States of Mysore and Hyderabad, had been uniformly successful. At Indore he had made the acquaintance of the Ruling Princes of Central India, at Gwalior he had been the guest of the Maharaja Sindhia. At Delhi, the non-co-operators had made a concerted effort to mar the enthusiasm which the coming of a member of the House of Windsor would normally have excited; but their efforts were seriously disconcerted by the publication, a day or two before his arrival, of the Bardoli resolutions. The complete cessation of all aggressive activity which these resolutions implied, filled the local enthusiasts with dismay. Accordingly, they hesitated to employ their accustomed tactics, and left the loyal elements of the population free to obey their own impulses. In consequence, the Prince's visit to Delhi, and all the functions which made up that busy week passed off with the utmost success and brilliance. From Delhi, he entered the Punjab, where he spent the major portion of his time in reviewing serving and pensioned soldiers and displaying his keen personal interest in all matters connected with the Army. Lahore itself gave him a welcome hardly second to any which he had received in India. The non-co-operators seemed for the moment utterly disconcerted, and the enthusiasm which marked the Prince's public functions was alike unbounded and unquestioned. His visit to the North-West Frontier Province was equally successful. At Peshawar the hooligan element in the city did their best to mar the warm welcome given by the bulk of the inhabitants, but their conduct excited nothing but reprobation. The Afridi tribesmen gave His Royal Highness an enthusiastic reception, which was more than equalled by the interest and delight displayed by the Yusufzais at his visit to the Malakand Pass. From these northern regions the Prince revisited the United Provinces, whence,

In the North.

after witnessing the competition for the Kadir Cup, he passed to Karachi, where H. M. S. "Renown" awaited him.

Non-co-operators' Dissensions.

Through the greater part of February, the councils of the non-co-operators continued to be confused by the lightning change which Mr. Gandhi had introduced so unexpectedly into his campaign. The Khilafat party, with their clear-cut religious grievance, alone seemed to preserve if not their equanimity, at least their enthusiasm. Had it not been for the fact that false rumours of British help, principally financial, to Greece were at the moment exciting the bitterest resentment among the Khilafatists, it seems probable that the non-co-operation movement might have dissolved into a welter of chaos. Fierce internal dissensions broke out between those who saw in Mr. Gandhi's latest pronouncement a confession of failure, and those who were convinced that it was only necessary to persevere until all his aims were realized. The strength of Khilafat feeling, however, continued to lend non-co-operation a formidable appearance. But in the beginning of March, a considerable sensation was made in Muslim circles by the publication of a strongly-worded representation by the Government of India to the Home Government. Lord Reading's Administration, with the concurrence of the local Governments and Administrations, once more laid before His Majesty's Government their conviction of the intensity of the feeling in India regarding the necessity for a revision of the Treaty of Sevres. In particular, they urged upon His Majesty's Government three points as being of the first importance, subject to certain safeguards; the evacuation of Constantinople; the suzerainty of the Sultan over the Holy Places; the restoration to Turkey of Ottoman Thrace including Adrianople, and of Smyrna. The publication of this document, combined with a growing sense of disappointment at the failure of Mr. Gandhi's campaign, produced a great effect upon Muslim opinion. The non-co-operation movement was in consequence considerably weakened, since many even of the most ardent Khilafatists began to believe that there was more to be gained by supporting Government in its honest efforts than by adhering to the hitherto infructuous schemes of Mr. Gandhi. The sensation thus produced began to dispute with Mr. Gandhi's movement for the first place in public interest. Almost immediately, came another even greater sensation, which completely overshadowed the non-co-operation campaign. When the news of

Government's Memorandum.

Mr. Montagu's resignation, following the publication of the Memorandum, came to India, a general feeling of apprehension spread over the country. It was feared lest the disappearance from office of a Secretary of State whose name had been associated, even by enemies of the British connection, with the utmost friendship and liberality towards Indian aspirations, might indicate a determination on the part of the British Government to change its angle of vision. As soon the circumstances of that resignation were known in India, the first feeling of apprehension gradually passed away. But the interest excited in all quarters by the manifest desire of Lord Reading's Government to satisfy Muslim opinion still continued to exist as a factor hostile to Mr. Gandhi. Indeed by alienating from him that Muslim sentiment which had once been his most formidable political asset, it struck the final blow to his political, as opposed to his personal, prestige. He had already lost the support of many of his followers by his refusal to persist in mass civil disobedience. He had forfeited the fickle trust of the lower classes by his failure to secure Swaraj on the date when they understood him to have promised it: while to the upper classes the dangers of his movement were daily becoming more apparent. At this juncture the administration decided to order his arrest, which took place on March 10th. This step had long been contemplated, but had been postponed from time to time for various reasons. In the first place there was a natural reluctance to incarcerate a man who, however mistaken might be his activities, was by all widely respected and by millions revered as a saint. Moreover, he had consistently preached the gospel of non-violence, and done all that he could to restrain the more impatient of his followers from embarking upon forcible methods. It was further impossible to ignore the fact that until a substantial body of Indian opinion was prepared to support measures against Mr. Gandhi's person and until the popular belief in his divine inspiration had been weakened by the efflux of time, there was reason to fear that his arrest would have been attended with bloody outbreaks in numerous places, by the intensification of racial bitterness, and by the creation of conditions in which the new constitution would have little or no chance of success. That the arrest, being well-timed, passed off peacefully should not mislead the reader into thinking that it could have been effected with equal absence of popular excitement at an earlier period. It came when Mr. Gandhi's political reputation, for reasons already

Mr. Montagu's Resignation.

Mr. Gandhi Arrested.

outlined, was at its nadir; when the enthusiasm of his followers had reached the lowest ebb; when the public mind of India was engrossed with other issues. His trial passed off in complete tranquillity. The Advocate General of Bombay had no difficulty in proving that certain articles written by Mr. Gandhi, which formed the subject matter of the charges, were part of a campaign to spread disaffection openly and systematically, to render Government impossible and to overthrow it. Mr. Gandhi pleaded guilty. In the course of his speech he said:

His Address to the Court.

"And I wish to endorse all the blame that the Advocate General has thrown on my shoulders in connection with the Bombay occurrences, the Madras occurrences and the Chauri Chaura occurrences. Thinking over these things deeply, and sleeping over them night after night and examining my heart I have come to the conclusion that it is impossible for me to dissociate myself from the diabolical crimes of Chauri Chaura or the mad outrages of Bombay. He is quite right when he says that as a man of responsibility, a man having received a fair share of education, having had a fair share of experience of this world, I should know the consequences of every one of my acts. I knew them. I knew that I was playing with fire. I ran the risk and if I was set free I would still do the same. I would be failing in my duty if I did not do so. I have felt it this morning that I would have failed in my duty if I did not say all that I have said here just now. I wanted to avoid violence; I want to avoid violence. Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is the last article of my faith. But I had to make my choice; I had either to submit to a system which I consider has done irreparable harm to my country, or incur the risk of the mad fury of my people bursting forth when they understood the truth from my lips. I know that my people have sometimes gone mad; I am deeply sorry for it; and I am therefore here to submit not to a light penalty but to the highest penalty. I do not ask for mercy. I do not plead any extenuating act. I am here therefore to invite and submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen."

The Judge while paying full tribute to Mr. Gandhi's position in the eyes of millions of his countrymen, emphasised that it was his duty to judge him as an individual subject to the law, who had on his own admission broken the law and committed what to an ordinary man

must appear to be grave offences against the State. "I do not forget," said the Judge, "that you have consistently preached against violence and that you have on many occasions, as I am willing to believe, done much to prevent violence. But having regard to the nature of your political teaching and the nature of many of those to whom it was addressed, how you could have continued to believe that violence would not be the inevitable consequence, it passes my capacity to understand. There are probably few people in India who do not sincerely regret that you have made it impossible for any Government to leave you at liberty. But it is so." Mr. Gandhi was sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment.

His Conviction.

The sentence, like the proceedings which led up to it, was received with entire calmness in India. General regret was expressed, by all shades of opinion, that Mr. Gandhi had brought upon his own head a punishment so severe. But the removal of this remarkable man from the sphere which he had for so long dominated, produced neither disturbance nor resentment. The fact is that the non-co-operation movement was largely paralysed by those internal dissensions which had from time to time taxed to the uttermost Mr. Gandhi's authority even when he was at the height of his reputation. The gradual decline in his prestige had set them free, so that there was no more cohesion in his party. Hindu-Muslim differences, from the beginning formidable, had recently been emphasised by Muhammadan appreciation of Government's efforts on behalf of the Khilafat, and by a growing resentment at Mr. Gandhi's unfulfilled promises. Extreme Hindu opinion was alienated by his failure to realise Swaraj and to bring Government to submission. The more responsible sections of the population had come to realise the anarchical implications of his programme. In a word, he had lost the confidence of his most formidable supporters. Moreover, the lengthy period of intensive agitation was now beginning to merge into its natural consequence, apathy and indifference. The classes were less excited, the masses, occupied with excellent crops, more contented. Hence the fortuitous occurrence, simultaneously with Mr. Gandhi's arrest, of Mr. Montagu's resignation, was sufficient completely to overshadow the trial and conviction of the famous Mahatma.

The disappearance from the political scene of the principal actor in the non-co-operation movement affords a convenient opportunity for reviewing the achievements of that movement up to the time of writing.

It will be realised from what has been previously remarked, that the specific items of the non-co-operation programme have in large measure miscarried. The demand for the resignation of titles and honorary posts has produced a disappointing response. The boycott of Councils has inflicted hardship only on the non-co-operation party. The boycott of law courts, accompanied by the erection of arbitration committees, has done nothing to relieve the congestion of civil litigation with which the Indian law courts are normally burdened. The anti-drink campaign, while responsible for a considerable amount of intimidation and disorder, has produced results of little value to earnest reformers. The like can be said of the movement for the removal of " untouchability," which, where it did not fail altogether, has resulted in an increasing acerbity of caste feeling. In the cult of the spinning wheel, some useful work was unquestionably performed ; but the failure to popularise simultaneously hand-loom weaving has prevented the campaign for the general introduction of home-spun cloth from achieving results which might otherwise have rewarded it. The boycott of foreign cloth, which was favoured by the support of certain Indian Mill-owners and by the paralysis of piece goods dealers resulting from the exchange deadlock, certainly assisted a reduction of cloth imports. On the other hand, when the present glut of imports is exhausted, fresh orders must soon be placed abroad in order to satisfy the Indian demand. The effort to enrol Congress members to the number of 10 millions has not up to the time of writing been successful. The boycott of educational institutions has resulted, as already indicated, in the infliction of ruinous misery upon thousands of promising lives. Its services to the cause of education, national or otherwise, are negative. Mr. Gandhi's one conspicuous success, the Tilak Swaraj Fund, was largely dissipated in unproductive fashion upon the volunteer organisations. So much then for the specific items of the non-co-operation campaign.

The Non-co-operation Programme Unrealised.

But when we turn to consider the campaign as a whole, it would be idle to assert that it was infructuous. Whether the results obtained are desirable or undesirable, will be demonstrated beyond all possibility of doubt by the mere passage of time. But that these results are real is no longer open to question. Mr. Gandhi's intensive movement during the years 1921 and 1922 has diffused far and wide among classes previously oblivious to political considerations, a strong negative patriotism born of race hatred of the foreigner. The

General Results of Non-co-operation.

less prosperous classes both in the town and in the country side have become aroused to certain aspects—even though these be mischievous, exaggerated and false—of the existing political situation. On the whole, this must be pronounced up to the present, the most formidable achievement of the non-co-operation movement. That it has certain potentialities for good will be maintained by many; that it will immensely increase the dangers and difficulties of the next few years can be denied by few.

Damage to the Community.

As against this single positive achievement, there has to be set a large debit balance. Keen Indian critics have begun to notice certain disastrous consequences to the moral sense of the community resulting from the spread of Mr. Gandhi's doctrines. In the first place, the demand for complete and absolute conformity with Mr. Gandhi's orders has inevitably led to certain patent insincerities. Many of those who have taken the most prominent part in his movement have failed themselves to give effect to some of his most elementary behests. Many lawyers who support his campaign have failed to sever their connection with active practice. Many persons who are prominent in preaching the boycott of State educational institutions, refuse to withdraw their own children therefrom. Many of those who preach the removal of untouchability are themselves notorious for their rigid adherence to the age-long prerogatives of the upper castes. Enthusiastic exponents to the public of the spinning wheel and of home-spun cloth are found in private life clothing themselves in the finest imported fabrics. But this is hardly surprising when Mr. Gandhi himself, while actively preaching the benefits of the simple life, has been himself conspicuous for his employment of every resource of modern civilisation in the furtherance of his campaign. He, who has long denounced railways, telegraphs and machinery, has utilised all of them in his rapid and meteoric activities. Such a contrast between theory and practice among those who inspire reverence as national leaders, cannot but serve to injure the moral sense of the community. Insincerity has been rampant, hypocrisy so notorious as to be self-evident; added to which, the collection of large sums of money from the public has produced regrettable effects upon the honesty of many. It would be interesting to know what proportion of the Tilak Swaraj Fund was actually at the disposal of those controlling the campaign, and what proportion remained in the pockets of those

Insincerity.

Corruption.

who were responsible for the actual collection. Specific charges, never denied, have been brought against the personal integrity of many prominent figures in the non-co-operation movement. Mr. Mahomed Ali has been asked by the Urdu Press of Upper India to account for no fewer than six different funds which have from time to time passed through his hands. From the more punctilious leaders of the movement, bitter comments have proceeded on occasion regarding the casual audit and perfunctory balance sheets favoured by the local representatives of the Congress. Furthermore, while the non-co-operation movement has been in its purest form non-violent, the character of the propaganda by which it has been sustained has inevitably led to violent outbreaks. The enrolment of local hooligans and even public women in the ranks of national volunteers, besides leading to a marked deterioration in the general sense of public propriety, has inflicted infinite damage upon the general capacity of the community for self-restraint. In consequence, intolerance is rampant, racial hatred supreme.

Intolerance.

Conclusion.

The time has not yet arrived to write the epitaph of the non-co-operation movement. It is still conceivable that the defeats it has recently sustained will result in the diversion of such disinterested national aspirations as are at present overlaid with baser motives, into the noble channels of social reform. But from the political point of view, it would seem that non-co-operation has proved but a negative force; that its revival, if this should unfortunately occur, would be productive only of harm. It has immensely complicated the progress of the new reforms; it has retarded India's advance towards Dominion status; it has smirched her reputation in the eyes of the world. The tragedy is that a movement of this character, which in its origin contained such considerable elements of disinterested patriotism, should have been diverted into activities which have fostered anarchy, inflamed racial hatred, and produced infinite, though it may be trusted, temporary, damage to India's potentialities for political development.

During the closing scenes of Mr. Gandhi's activities, the reformed Councils were giving renewed testimony of their capacity as instruments of political advance. The Delhi session of the Indian Legislature began in the middle of January. After adopting an address of welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and an address of congratulation to Her Royal Highness Princess Mary, both Chambers devoted themselves to a long list of highly important public business. Among

the most dramatic debates of the session was that initiated in the Legis lative Assembly on Mr. Iswar Saran's motio for the immediate abandonment of the so called "repressive" policy of Government Those who attacked this policy based their contention on the belief tha it was merely aggravating the critical condition of India by supplyin further fuel to the flames of non-co-operation. On the other hand its supporters emphasised the difference between constitutional an unconstitutional agitation, maintaining that if Government, t combat those outlaws who were at war with it, had adopted certai measures, those measures could not be pilloried as repressive. On th Government side, Sir William Vincent and Dr. Sapru made convincin and forceful speeches which produced a great effect upon the Assembly The Home Member mentioned that during the year 1921, the military had been called out 47 times to suppress serious disorders; whil during the last three months of that year, their assistance was evoke no fewer than 20 times. The House, he said, should ponder over it responsibility and see that consistently with its allegiance to th Crown, it did not deliberately encourage those who intended t overthrow Government by all possible means. The tenor of th debate showed conclusively that the majority of the House wa behind Government. Both the original motion and various amendment to it were decisively negatived. The Council of State endorse the Assembly's approval of the policy of the Executive by rejectin a motion for a session of the two Houses to settle the lines of a Roun Table Conference. Further evidence of the serious manner in whic majority of Members of the Legislature realised their responsibilit during the critical juncture which confronted the country wa provided when one member of the Assembly moved a resolution askin the Viceroy to release the Ali Brothers. Sir William Vincent in th course of a crushing reply, gave a detaile account of the manner in which the two brother had been consistently hostile to Government, had promoted Pan Islamism, and had opposed the ideas of true nationalism. During th great war and in the Afghan war, said Sir William Vincent, the one ide of these men had been to support and encourage the King's enemie After their release from internment by Royal clemency, they had bee carrying on a ceaseless campaign in the direction of violence. Th grave character of their offence in seducing troops and their past condu made them entirely unworthy of consideration. So great was the effe

The Legislature Supports the Executive.

The Ali Brothers.

produced by this speech that although the resolution had at first received the support of certain Muhammadan members, not one of them recorded his vote in its favour, and it was unanimously defeated. Among other

Other Questions.

pressing questions which were taken up by the Legislature, mention may be made of a message of confidence in Mr. Montagu which was despatched at the request of the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly. On a subsequent occasion, when the Secretary of State's resignation was known, the Assembly adopted a resolution expressing its deep regret at the event, and its profound sense of gratitude for the services which he had rendered to India and the Empire. From the Government benches, the speeches were mainly directed to the task of dissipating any apprehensions which might exist that Mr. Montagu's resignation implied a change in the policy of His Majesty's Government. In the Council of State emphasis was also laid upon Mr. Montagu's services to the Khilafat cause.

While the debates in both Houses upon questions of urgent public interest displayed the general support of the elected members of Gov-

Impetuosity and Caution.

ernment's policy, certain members both of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State showed themselves most anxious to enlarge in every way the powers of the respective bodies. On the other hand, certain other members were only prepared to lend cautious and discriminating support to such projects. Illustrations of both attitudes, as now the one and now the other section predominated, are readily forthcoming. A lively debate took place on a resolution recommending the Governor General to abolish the distinction between votable and non-votable items—a step which, according to one of two possible interpretations of a certain section of the Government of India Act, seemed within his competence. This resolution was carried: and when it was announced that the law officers of the Crown had decided that it was not within the competence of the Governor General to declare as votable those items which had by statute been declared non-votable, there was considerable disappointment among the non-official members. On the other hand in the Council of State a resolution for the introduction of the practice of voting an address after the speech from the Throne—that is, after the Viceroy's speech at the beginning of the session—was rejected: for the majority of the House were convinced by the Home Member's exposition of the constitutional difficulties raised by the demand. In another direc-

tion also, the constitutional sense of the Council prevailed over the enthusiasm of certain of its members. A motion for the election of India's representatives to the Imperial and other International Conferences, was rejected, when it was pointed out that not only was there no precedent for sending representatives elected by the Legislature to a Conference where various Powers entered into negotiations, but that the proposal was of itself impossible under the Government of India Act. In the Assembly, moreover a resolution on broadly similar lines met a like fate. On the other hand, despite the opposition of the official benches, a resolution for associating Standing Committees with certain departments of the Government of India for the purpose of enabling non-officials to understand the inner-workings of the Government departments, was adopted. Towards the end of the session, however, Government accepted a proposal that the functions of the Finance Committee should be so defined as to include the scrutiny of all proposals for new votable expenditure, the sanction of allotments out of lump grants, the suggestion of retrenchment and economy in expenditure, and the general assistance of the Finance Department when advice was sought. This further enlarged the powers of the Standing Finance Committee which has now become a very important body.

The Legislature and the Budget.

Matters financial, indeed, occupied a large share of the attention of both Houses. As will be apparent in the subsequent chapter, the disastrous Budget for 1922-23 seemed to threaten a repetition of the danger of deadlock, which had been avoided a year previously through the moderation of the new Parliament. When the general discussion on the budget took place, it revealed remarkable unanimity among all the non-official members of the Assembly, both European and Indian. The financial policy of Government was subjected to severe attack, and there were vigorous and repeated demands for retrenchment. Many suggestions, some of a drastic character, were put forward for the reduction of the heavy item of military expenditure. On the official side, it was pointed out that the successive deficits during past years were not due to extravagance on the part of Government; and in particular, the military expenditure was defended in forcible manner. The general line taken by the Assembly was much more determined than that of last year. The members, non-official European as well as Indian, were not satisfied with the economies hitherto effected in the administration. They demanded the appointment of a Retrenchment Committee—a point upon which Government

met their views—and meanwhile they refused to vote more than 20 crores (£20 millions) of new taxation out of the total demand of 29 crores (£29 millions). On the demands for individual grants, reductions were made which totalled something under a crore of rupees (£1 million). The Finance Bill was amended in such fashion as to exclude the proposed increase in salt duty, in cotton excise, in duty on machinery and on cotton piece goods. A new clause was added providing for the amendment of the Indian Paper Currency Act of 1920 which will have the effect of removing, for 2 years from the 1st of April 1921, the obligation to utilise interest derived from securities in the Paper Currency Reserve in cancelling such securities. The net result of the changes introduced by the Assembly has been to leave a total uncovered deficit of slightly over 9 crores of rupees (£9 millions). The supplementary estimates which came up on the 1st of March were sanctioned after some slight discussion. To these proceedings particular interest is lent by the fact that Lord Reading did not exercise the Governor General's power of "certifying" the Finance Bill: while the Government did not employ its emergency powers for the restoration of excised items. The Legislature is thus left to face the consequences, whether for good or for ill, of its own action, a procedure which cannot fail still further to confirm the growing sense of responsibility which distinguishes the majority of members.

Comments.

The manner in which the Budget was treated by the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State evoked considerable criticism from the press in England, as well as from certain sections of the press in India. But responsible public opinion in India has for some time been pressing upon the authorities the necessity for retrenchment. The Assembly in consequence found much effective support for its position—support which was by no means confined to the Indian-edited newspapers. That this position will involve the administration in considerable difficulties in the course of the current financial year, cannot be denied; but it is to be hoped, not without confidence, that as soon as the Legislature shall have been satisfied, by the Report of the Retrenchment Committee, that all possible economies have been effected in the administration, it will have no scruples in voting the taxation necessary to meet essential expenditure.

Other Business.

Racial questions continued to excite deep interest in the Central Legislature. Resolutions were put forward to accelerate the recruitment of Indians for the

All-India services. Considerable attention was devoted to the recruitment of Indians for the Indian Marine as well as for technical professions of various kinds. The position of Indians abroad aroused considerable comment and Government were again urged to press the Indian standpoint upon the Home authorities. Both the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State devoted attention to discussing various resolutions designed to improve the industrial condition of the country. The suggestion, that in so far as possible, the 150 crores (£150 millions) which were to be set aside for the rehabilitation of the railways during the next 5 years should be spent in India, was accepted by Government. It was agreed that India should participate in the British Empire Exhibition in London in 1924. and adequate funds were provided for the purpose. Questions of public health and social reform were also discussed, as a result of resolutions which will be dealt with more fully in another place. The Delhi session of the Legislature was happily notable for the continuance of cordial relations between Government and the elected members. Further, despite the deep interest displayed in racial questions, the division list was very rarely arranged on racial lines. The European non-officials were by no means found invariably in the Government lobby—a fact which certain critics in England have failed to appreciate at its true significance. The growth of the party system exposed Government to occasional difficulty ; but, on the other hand, often enabled the officials to turn the scale according as they threw their weight in support of the Democratic party, or of its rival, the National party—a promising creation of this session. Sober, even conservative, opinion was by no means absent ; and Government has on many occasions been able to secure substantial support for a good case. The majority of members seemed to realise fully that a deadlock was to the interests of no one : and appeals to their sense of responsibility were almost always effective. In short, despite all difficulties, the new constitution is securing increasing support, and laying the foundations of a real sense of responsibility among those who are engaged in working it.

Character of the Session.

Before the Delhi session of the Indian Legislature came to a close, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had left the country. While from many points of view it is regrettable that during his visit the political condition of India should have been so disturbed, yet there are certain compensations which should not be omitted from any attempt to estimate the

The Royal Visit.

effects of his tour. His Royal Highness has seen India at a time when the ebb and flow of political currents have arrested attention: he has acquired a knowledge of her conditions which cannot fail to be of the utmost value in the future. He has learned, at first hand and from his own experience, of her difficulties, of her aspirations, and of her uneasiness. These experiences can but bear fruit in the exercise of that full measure of sympathy and interest which has ever characterised the feelings of the British Crown towards the Indian Empire. His Royal Highness took many opportunities of appraising for himself the work done by the civil services of India and of discussing with officers the conditions and difficulties in which their task is performed. This sympathy from one, whose motto is "I serve" and who, though worn in Empire travel and service, did not spare himself by deferring his visit to India: who, while in India, carried out the purposes of his journey with steadfast devotion and scrupulous care, cannot fail to inspire and hearten the Public Services of India. It would be idle to deny that the misguided attempts of the non-co-operators to boycott His Royal Highness have produced a serious effect upon public opinion not merely in the United Kingdom, but also in America. These attempts have been considered, not unreasonably, as a deliberate affront to the Majesty of the Crown and to the person of one who has made himself beloved in every country he has visited. But, as His Royal Highness has himself said from time to time, the inmost heart of India remains sound and loyal. In him the real, the fundamental India has secured an interpreter who will be able to make plain to the world her difficulties and the manner in which she is facing them. His visit has aroused an interest in Indian affairs among the people of Great Britain such as has never been known before; and this interest has been awakened at the very moment when India most needs sympathy, understanding, and assistance.

The Prince's Activities.

Space would fail were we to attempt to indicate in any detail the manifold public activities which characterised His Royal Highness' Indian tour. It must suffice to summarise in the briefest possible manner, some of their immediate effects. His visits to the Indian States must be accounted an Imperial asset of the utmost importance. Only a Member of the House of Windsor can unite the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India in common loyalty with the people who live in British Territory. The tie which holds these Princes to the Throne must inevitably be largely one of allegiance to the person of the King-Emperor. His Royal Highness'

personal charm, his sportsmanship, and his frank comradeship, have proved a direct inspiration to many Indian Rulers. They have helped to bind the Indian States in closer loyalty to the British Throne, and in doing so, to bind them in closer comradeship to British India. Outside the States, in the course of his travels among the direct subjects of the King-Emperor, the Prince has performed work of the utmost value to the Empire. His gracious replies to the addresses of welcome presented to him by the Legislative Councils, Central and Provincial; his interviews with the Indian Ministers and Members of Council; his keen interest in democratic institutions have combined to give a considerable impetus to the Reforms. He has raised those now engaged in working the new constitution in the social estimation of their countrymen; he has provided them with additional inspiration; he has added to their sense of responsibility. Among other classes of the community, also, his work has been equally beneficent. Substantial elements of society, so important from the stabilising influence they exert upon their countrymen—local notables, leading merchants, important landholders—have received additional encouragement in their loyalty. Large numbers of the lower classes, both from town and country side, who have come into contact with him, have taken away into their humble homes an impression of His Royal Highness' gracious personality which will endure throughout their lives. Further, to the Army and to the Police, those great organisations upon which the established order of all States ultimately depends, his visit has been an unmixed joy. Quite apart from the encouragement which his gracious interest has given to service men of all ranks, many pensioners, gathered from villages far and wide, have taken back with them an inspiring recollection of this gallant young Prince, who speaks to them in their own tongue and displays so lively and so entirely human an interest in their welfare. Unmistakable feelings of pride have been aroused in thousands of hearts at the feeling that they are one in comradeship-at-arms with their future King-Emperor. Finally, upon the non-co-operation movement itself, the visit of His Royal Highness has not been without effect. Before he left, there was a general growing feeling among the substantial classes of the population that the outrageous conduct of the non-co-operators had disgraced India's fair fame. The fact that His Royal Highness' programme was carried out in detail despite the loudly proclaimed efforts of the non-co-operation leaders, has not failed to prove a severe set back to their claims. On the whole it may be said that His Royal Highness' visit to India has

been an inspiring example to every subject of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and for this reason alone, has proved of notable service to the Empire. Of His Royal Highness' own feelings, his Farewell Message gives evidence.

" I bid farewell to India to-day with feelings of the deepest regret. I pride the hand of friendship which India has extended to me and shall ever treasure the memories of my first visit in future years. By God's help I may now hope to view India, her Princes and peoples with an understanding eye. My gathered knowledge will, I trust, assist me to read her needs aright and will enable me to approach her problems with sympathy, appreciate her difficulties and appraise her achievements. It has been a wonderful experience for me to see the provinces and States of India and to watch the machinery of the Government with interest. I have noted signs of expansion and development, on every side. It has been a great privilege to thank the Princes and peoples of India for their efforts and sacrifices on behalf of the Empire in the great war and to renew my acquaintance with her gallant fighting forces. Finally my warmest thanks are due to Your Excellency, to the officials of your Government and to the Princes and peoples of India by whose cordial assistance I have been helped at every stage of my journey to secure my cherished ambition. I undertook this journey to see and know India and to be known by her. Your Excellency's welcome at the outset and the encouragement which I have constantly received on all hands since landing in India has given me heart for the task. I have received continuous proofs of devotion to the throne and the person of the King-Emperor and on my return to England it will be my privilege to convey these assurances of loyalty to His Imperial Majesty. I trust that my sojourn in this country may have helped to add some grains to that great store of mutual trust and regard and of desire to help each other which must ever form the foundation of India's well being. On my part I will only say that if the memories which I leave behind in India are half as precious as those I take away I may indeed feel that my visit has brought us closer together. That India may progress and prosper is my earnest prayer. I hope it may be my good fortune to see India again in the years to come.—Edward P."

To which His Excellency the Viceroy replied :

" The heart of India will be stirred by Your Royal Highness' message of farewell. You came to India on an embassy of good-will, the youthful heir to the Throne, a veteran soldier of the King, India's friend. You leave India having won India's heart, for road to the heart of people lies

through knowledge and sympathy. From the day you landed in India you set yourself to gain the one. Providence has endowed you with the other. Long will the memory of your embassy live in India's heart. On behalf of the Princes, peoples and officials of India I thank Your Royal Highness and express for myself and them our particular gratification that Your Royal Highness hopes to see India again in the future. For myself and them I wish you God-speed, all happiness until we again have the inestimable privilege of welcoming Your Royal Highness to India."

CHAPTER V.

India's Economic Position.

The "Drain" to England.

As was the case in former Reports, it will be necessary to premise the account of India's economic life during the period under review by some indication of the general conditions regulating the finances of the country. From the external aspect, we may notice that India has large commitments in London, in payment for which a sum averaging over £25 million sterling is annually required. The major portion of this sum is interest on capital lent to India for purpose of internal development. Originally borrowed at a lower rate, in most cases about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., it now brings to the Indian Exchequer a return of approximately 7 per cent. Another item is the annual remittance in payment for Government stores of a kind which could not hitherto be obtained in India. This head is destined gradually to disappear with India's increasing industrial development, of which an account will be given in subsequent pages. Finally come the payments made to England for the leave allowance of State servants, and for their pensions after they have left India. Until lately, this annual remittance to London included the charges for the maintenance of the whole of the India Office ; but as a result of the changed relations between India and England consequent upon the declaration of August 20th, 1917, a portion of the India Office is now a charge upon the British Exchequer. In substitution for this, however, comes the cost of maintaining the Indian High Commissioner, who discharges functions in England similar to those discharged by the High Commissioners of the self-governing Dominions.

Central and Provincial Finance.

Turning now to the internal aspect of India's finances, we must note that a large proportion of the revenues of the Government of India is derived not from taxation, but from such sources as land revenue, opium, railways, forests and irrigation. The country being still in the main agricultural, Indian revenues are always largely influenced by the character of the season. Up to the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the Budget of the Government of India was made

to include the transactions of the local Governments, the revenues enjoyed by the latter being mainly derived from sources of income shared between themselves and the Government of India. The Central Government out of these incomings was responsible for defence charges, for the upkeep of railways, posts and telegraphs, for the payment of interest on debt, and for the home charges. The provinces from their income met the expenses connected with land revenue and general administration, with forests, police, courts and jails, with education and with medical services. Charges for irrigation and ordinary public works were common both to the Central and to the Provincial Governments.

This state of affairs has passed away as a result of the changes introduced by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

Separation.

The authors of the Reforms had urged the necessity of complete separation between the finances of the Central Government and those of the various Provincial Governments. Their main recommendations were that no head of revenue should continue to be divided; that land revenue, irrigation, excise and judicial stamps should be completely provincialized; and that income-tax and general stamps should become central heads of revenue. Inasmuch as under this re-arrangement the Government of India would lose heavily, the scheme proposed that contributions should be levied on the provinces to make up the deficit. As was related in last year's report, a Committee was appointed in January 1920 to investigate the financial relations between the new Central and Provincial Governments. The Committee proposed that receipts from general stamps should be credited to the provinces and not to the Central Government, and suggested a plan by which the Provincial Governments were to contribute Rs. 983 lakhs (£9·83 millions) to the Central Government in 1921-22. The standard contribution of each Province was also fixed as proportion of the total contribution necessary to make good the deficit of the Government of India. This proportion was 19 per cent. from Bengal; 18 per cent. from the United Provinces; 17 per cent. from Madras; 13 per cent. from Bombay; 10 per cent. from Bihar and Orissa; 9 per cent. from the Punjab; 6½ per cent. from Burma; 5 per cent. from the Central Provinces; and 2½ per cent. from Assam. The Committee recommended that contribution should be adjusted to this standard percentage by equal increments, contributions extending over a period of 7 years. These recommendations were not accepted in full by the Joint Select Committee of Both Houses of Parliament. It was finally settled that from the year 1922-23, a total contribution of £9·83

millions (Rs. 983 lakhs), or such smaller sum as may be determined by the Governor-General in Council, shall be paid by the local Governments, provision being made for reduction when the Governor-General in Council fixes as the total amount of the contribution a sum smaller than that payable in the preceding year. Unfortunately, during the course of the period under review, the Provincial Governments, in common with the Central Government, underwent financial disaster. Their expenditure was on the up grade, and the non-co-operation agitation, to which reference has been made in previous chapters, had a baneful effect on some of their items of revenue, such as excise and stamps. It is therefore not astonishing that in most, if not all, provinces, there grew up a strong feeling against the system of provincial contributions which was an integral feature of the financial arrangements under the reformed constitution. This feeling was most vocal in Bengal and Madras. Though the Central Government could not contemplate with any satisfaction the loss in their revenues entailed by the remission or reduction of any contributions—since, as will shortly be apparent, their own financial position was itself precarious—yet it was felt that the case of Bengal was peculiar. Indeed, the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Act had in their report specially stated that :—

Difficulties of Adjustment.

"The Committee desire to add their recognition of the peculiar financial difficulties of the Presidency of Bengal, which they accordingly commend to the special consideration of the Government of India."

Concession to Bengal.

In the course of the year under review, the question was taken up by the Bengal Legislative Council, which sent a deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy to explain the difficulties of the Province. In the September session of the Indian Legislative Assembly, a Resolution was moved by the Finance Member, recommending the remission of the Bengal contribution for a period of three years. This was accepted by the Assembly, which felt that for political reasons, if for no other, it was advisable to help Bengal in her distress. This concession naturally led to similar demands from other Provinces, Madras being exceptionally vociferous in her insistence on a revision of her contribution. This second demand produced no effect for the moment, since it had by this time become clear that the finances of the Central Government were such as to make it utterly out of the question to reduce provincial contributions. It is this financial position which we must now proceed briefly to explain.

As has already been stated, the year 1921-22 was the first year of the new order of things, in which Central and Provincial finances were completely separate. The Budget of the Central Government anticipated a serious deficit which had to be made good by increased taxation.

Difficulties of the Central Government.

As mentioned in last year's Report, the new legislatures were faced at the outset of their career with proposals for taxation necessary to cover an anticipated deficit of more than Rs. 18 crores (£18 millions). As has already been related, they proved equal to their responsibilities and accepted, with few modifications, the proposals of Government. The additional taxation was mostly under Customs, and included an increase of the general *ad valorem* duty from 7½ per cent. to 11 per cent., and a special duty of 20 per cent. on luxuries like motor cars, silks and the like. It was hoped that these measures would leave a small surplus. Unfortunately, the close of the year 1920 found India bearing her share of a universal depression of trade. The exchange value of the rupee had fallen to 1*s*. 5½*d*., or just half the maximum recorded earlier in that year. In consequence, importers found themselves seriously placed in paying for goods ordered when exchange was high, and their difficulties were accentuated by the universal slump in prices and the falling off in local demand. Exporters were also hard hit; for although a low rate of exchange naturally favours export trade, the existence of heavy stocks in foreign countries purchased at high prices checked any tendency towards a revival of orders. It was in this atmosphere of trade depression that the Budget for the year 1921-22 was put forward.

Trade Depression.

The estimates allowed for a definite retardation in the normal growth which the revenues might otherwise have been expected to exhibit. But it was impossible to foresee that the depression of trade would reach such dismal depths, or that its consequences would react so disastrously upon the Indian finances. The position was complicated both by internal and external factors. As to the former, the effects of the poor monsoon of 1920 continued to show themselves throughout the year 1921. The price of wheat rose to almost unexampled figures, with the result that the Government of India was forced not only to continue the embargo on the export of wheat, but also to encourage heavy importations. Labour troubles at the collieries curtailed the raisings of coal; and the service of the railways could only be maintained by purchase of foreign coal at greatly increased expenditure with detrimental effect on the trade balance. Moreover, the conditions of the country

were such, through causes partly economic and partly political, that there was a complete stagnation of the ordinary activities of internal trade. One of the most unfortunate features was the locking up of many million pounds worth of imported goods, owing to the inability or the failure of importers to take up their contracts. This was particularly prominent in the all-important piece-goods trade. Orders for piece-goods had been freely placed in the United Kingdom when exchange was high. British manufacturers were then working at full pressure, and some months necessarily elapsed before orders were executed and deliveries made. By that time, exchange had fallen and importers in India were faced with serious losses. Whether justifiably or not, they had counted on the stability of the rupee at the level of 2*s*. gold which, as we saw in last year's Report, was recommended by the Currency Committee of 1919. But the rush of remittances overwhelmed exchange, which fell remorselessly during the remainder of the year. The importers of course could have protected themselves by entering into forward contracts with the banks on an exchange basis of 2*s*. But piece goods importers do not usually fix their exchange forward, for in normal years, they can count on a rise in rupee prices, under the stimulus of higher replacing costs, to neutralize a fall in exchange. However the simultaneous fall of rupee prices and of exchange was one of the many abnormal features of the year's trade. Accordingly, at the end of the year 1920, resolutions had been passed by various associations of Indian piece-goods merchants, that no fresh business in foreign piece-goods would be undertaken. Further resolutions were also passed urging members under penalty to postpone payment for British piece-goods, which had already arrived, until the exchange reached 2*s*. per rupee; and for Japanese piece-goods until the exchange reached Rs. 150 per hundred yen. Importing houses and banks, as well as manufacturers in England were of course affected by these decisions. The stagnation which resulted was typical of much of the history of internal trade throughout the year. Not even an unusually favourable monsoon in the autumn of 1921 succeeded in solving the position due to the interaction of economic and political influences. So far as the external conditions were concerned, the prevailing depression in Russia and Central Europe aggravated by famine conditions in the former country, continued to deprive India of the customers on whom in normal years she was wont to rely. How unstable was the basis on which their exports depended is shown by the history of her reviving trade with Germany. Exports to that country which averaged $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores (£1·5 millions) monthly during

the period July-September 1921 collapsed with the catastrophic fall of the mark in October, and had fallen in December to only Rs. ½ crore (£0·5 millions). India's exports which had reached their height with Rs. 31 crores (£31 millions) in March 1920 had declined to Rs. 18 crores (£18 millions) in March 1921, and reached their lowest point in June of that same year with Rs. 16 crores (£16 millions). There was indeed a recovery to 21 crores (£21 millions) in December 1921 ; but on the whole, greatly reduced as has been the scale of India's imports, there was a total trade balance against her of 33 crores (£33 millions) for the ten months ending January 1922.

Fate of the Budget, 1921-22.

The Budget estimates of 1921-22, as finally passed, provided for a small surplus of Rs. 71 lakhs (£0·71 millions), the revenue, including new taxation being estimated at Rs. 128·3 crores (£128·3 millions) and the expenditure at just over Rs. 127·5 crores (£127·5 millions). But at the end of the financial year 1921-22 it was estimated that the revenue had fallen short of expectation by more than Rs. 20 crores (£20 millions). There was an estimated falling off of Rs. 4·25 crores (£4·25 millions) under Customs. Income-tax was, it was thought, short by Rs. 90 lakhs (£0·9 millions). Salt fell by roughly the same figure, and Opium by a little less. Receipts under Railway showed a figure of Rs. 83 crores (£83 millions) instead of Rs. 87 crores (£87 millions) ; but far worse than the decline of gross traffic receipts was the increase in working expenditure. Largely owing to short raisings of coal, and the consequent supplementing of the home supply by heavy purchases abroad, the total excess of working expenses over the budgeted figure was Rs. 7·25 crores (£7·25 millions). Allowing further for some falling off in the receipts the total worsening of the railway budget was no less than Rs. 13 crores (£13 millions). Under Posts and Telegraphs, the gross revenue was about Rs. 1·5 crores (£1·5 millions) less than was anticipated. Both these two commercial departments were worked at a loss to the general tax-payer during the year under review. Nor did the acute financial position of the Government of India depend merely upon decreased revenue. There were certain heavy additions, amounting to more than Rs. 14 crores (£14 millions) in expenditure. Under this head the heaviest items were the cost of operations in Waziristan, which amounted to Rs. 2·75 crores (£2·75 millions) more than had been anticipated ; and loss under exchange, which had to be taken at the heavy figure of Rs. 5·75 crores (£5·75 millions) more than in the Budget. Accordingly, the total deficit with which the Government of India

was faced amounted to no less than Rs. 34 crores (£34 millions).

Proposals to meet Deficit. There was, further, reason to believe that a similar deficit would occur next year, but for extra taxation. Under these circumstances, as already related, Government determined to meet the deficit by means of an increase in the railway passengers' fares: in postal rates: in general customs duty: in cotton excise: in duty on sugar, on machinery, on matches, salt, and articles of luxury. Income tax and super-tax were also to be raised. This new taxation was expected to yield 29 crores of rupees (£29 millions) leaving an uncovered deficit of nearly 3 crores of rupees (£3 millions). As we have already noticed, the Indian Legislature put forward insistent demands for retrenchment and so modified the taxation proposals that they covered only 20 crores of rupees (£20 millions) out of the total demand of 29 crores (£29 millions).

In budgeting for a deficit, the Central Government had many companions in misfortune. Taking the Provinces as a whole, it may be said that the majority of them are working to a deficit. At the beginning of the year 1921-22, the total Provincial balance amounted to Rs. 16·16 crores (£16·16 millions), while at the end of the year, the aggregate balances are expected to be only 5·5 crores (£5·5 millions), even after allowing for the various loans which several Provincial Governments have raised or will be raising during the two years, and also for the proceeds of extra taxation which several Provinces are imposing for their own purposes. It was obviously impossible for the Central Government, in view of its own financial position, to reduce the Provincial contributions. But in view of the difficulties which each local Government had to face, the Government of India considered that the time had come to discuss the whole position. The financial officials of each local Government were therefore invited to a Conference, which was held in April 1922, in order to discuss both the general position regarding the provincial contributions and also the problems which each Province has to face in the matter of financing capital outlay on irrigation and other schemes for which the Provinces are now responsible.

General Situation. Both for the Government of India and for the Provincial Governments, as will be apparent from what has been said, the year 1921-22 has been difficult and disappointing. Nor is there yet a clear promise of the early lifting of the clouds which veiled the financial horizon. One fact stands out in

General Statement of the Revenue and Expenditure charged to

	Accounts, 1919-1920.	Revised Estimate, 1920-1921.	Budget Estimate, 1921-1922.
REVENUE—	R	R	R
Principal Heads of Revenue—			
Customs	21,46,69,935	32,37,80,000	37,73,28,000
Taxes on Income	22,43,41,180	19,77,78,000	18,58,07,000
Salt	5,70,83,914	6,14,93,000	7,00,66,000
Opium	4,55,61,793	3,62,31,000	3,72,85,000
Other Heads	2,28,51,068	2,34,01,000	2,44,80,000
TOTAL PRINCIPAL HEADS	56,45,07,890	64,26,83,000	69,49,66,000
Railways : Net Receipts	31,76,99,344	25,69,32,000	27,25,63,000
Irrigation : Net Receipts	4,77,574	4,23,000	4,24,000
Posts and Telegraphs : Net Receipts.	2,95,81,944	1,68,64,000	2,08,74,000
Debt Services	4,22,99,265	3,74,30,000	3,49,09,000
Civil Administration	62,16,507	75,08,000	76,35,000
Currency, Mint and Exchange	5,71,29,369	2,86,06,000	49,73,000
Buildings, Roads, and Miscellaneus Public Improvements.	10,04,444	11,42,000	10,38,000
Miscellaneous	1,74,58,075	2,13,00,000	7,52,76,000
Military Receipts	3,90,52,245	3,37,02,000	4,11,10,000
Contributions and Assignments to the Central Government by Provincial Governments.	9,83,00,000	9,83,00,000	12,93,75,000
TOTAL REVENUE	1,17,37,26,657	1,14,48,90,000	1,28,31,43,000
DEFICIT	20,81,89,830	20,45,79,000	...
TOTAL	1,38,19,16,487	1,34,94,69,000	1,28,31,43,000

Revenue of the Central Government, in India and in England.

	Accounts, 1919-1920.	Revised Estimate, 1920-1921.	Budget Estimate, 1921-1922.
	R	R	R
EXPENDITURE—			
Direct Demands on the Revenues.	3,50,93,737	3,90,86,000	4,93,51,000
Railways: Interest and Miscellaneous Charges . .	17,95,97,900	21,13,94,000	23,17,13,000
Irrigation	18,18,368	11,97,000	11,76,000
Posts and Telegraphs Capital Account.	60,13,961	1,73,40,000	98,02,000
Debt Services	13,58,92,647	13,77,38,000	13,08,61,000
Civil Administration . . .	8,00,04,809	9,18,96,000	8,43,18,000
Currency, Mint and Exchange .	96,50,031	3,77,66,000	4,18,80,000
Buildings, Roads and Miscellaneous Public Improvements.	1,49,89,301	1,78,15,000	1,51,11,000
Miscellaneous	3,99,99,390	4,52,34,000	4,24,37,000
Military Services	87,25,32,343	74,36,79,000	66,31,10,000
Miscellaneous adjustments between the Central and Provincial Governments.	63,24,000	63,24,000	62,84,000
TOTAL EXPENDITURE CHARGED TO REVENUE	1,38,19,16,487	1,34,94,69,000	1,27,60,43,000
SURPLUS . . .	...	...	71,00,000
TOTAL ..	1,38,19,16,487	1,34,94,69,000	1,28,31,43,000

prominence, and it is the overwhelming importance to India's trade and exchange of world factors over which she has no control. Any attempt to devise a remedy as if India was a separate entity, divorced from world conditions, seems to be doomed to failure. It is also plain that India, in common with the world at large, has underestimated the period of convalescence necessary for recovery from the maladies of the war. The conclusion seems equally clear. If India's troubles are due to world causes, she must move in line with the best thinkers of the outside world in seeking the remedy, and the one solution which they can indicate for the difficulties in which State finances are now everywhere involved is to make revenue and expenditure balance.

Financial Position of India.

At the end of the period under review the national debt amounted, at the old value of the rupee, to about £383 millions, or about £1. 11*s.* per head of population, as compared with a total public revenue of £137 millions. This favourable position is largely due to the care with which, in pre-war years, outlay was restricted to available means. When the war began, almost the whole of India's debt represented productive outlay on railways and irrigation, normally yielding a return which exceeded considerably not only interest on the amount borrowed, but also interest on the small debt classified as unproductive. In March 1921, despite India's war contribution of £100 millions, the amount of the ordinary debt outstanding was actually £15 millions less than the contribution itself. Nor are these the only facts indicative of India's financial strength. The interest on her public debt is not only secured by the revenue from productive works, but is a charge on the public revenues as a whole. During the last six years, revenue and expenditure have approximately balanced at an average figure—taking the Rupee at 1*s.* 4*d.*—of £115 millions.

Loans.

Useful evidence of India's financial strength is to be found in the success of the various loans issued during the period under review. At the beginning of the financial year 1921-22, the Secretary of State issued a 7 per cent. sterling loan for £7·5 millions redeemable at par in ten years. Considerable agitation was aroused in India, not merely by the high rate of interest, but also by the generous terms of conversion offered. Further, since the issue of the loan was attended by immediate over-subscription and the closing of lists, there were no facilities for Indian investors to take part in it. Strong feeling arose against the Secretary of State's alleged indifference to the interests of Indian investors. Accordingly, when

the next sterling loan was put on the market in December, sufficient facilities were provided for any Indian investors who desired to take it up. Although, owing to the low exchange prevalent at the time, these facilities were not utilised to any great extent, the fact that they had been provided, combined with the lower rate of issue—5½ per cent. at 93½ redeemable at par in ten years—accounted for the absence of any unfavourable comments on the terms offered. The loan was an unqualified success, for the amount of £10 millions was over-subscribed very quickly. In India the Government of India's rupee-borrowings were also considerable. Their loan was on the market from the 20th of June 1921 to the end of July, taking the form of a 6 per cent. income-tax free loan for 5 or 10 years. The total applications exceeded Rs. 49 crores (£49 millions), of which hardly more than Rs. 11 crores (£11 millions) was for the longer period; and nearly Rs. 38½ crores (£38·5 millions) was in cash. The total of Rs. 49 crores has only once been exceeded in the history of Indian loans, the exception being the second war loan of 1918, which amounted to Rs. 56 crores. The large subscription is principally ascribable to great ease in the money market, a result of the slack demand for trade purposes. On the other hand the prevailin agricultural depression, due to the failure of the 1920 monsoon, caused a falling off in the number of small subscribers. The average subscription was Rs. 22,291 as compared with Rs. 12,305 for the 1920 loan, while in the case of the 1918 war loan, the average was as low as Rs. 2,460. The 1921 loan, it is interesting to notice, was well advertised in various novel ways, the cost of the campaign being under one lakh of Rupees (£10,000). Rupee borrowings were not confined to the Government of India. At the end of September, the Government of the United Provinces issued their loan for development purposes. This consisted of 6 per cent. income-tax free bonds issued at 93, the special feature being that a proportion of it was repayable at the option of subscribers in each year from the 5th to the 20th. Though the loan was withdrawn before the full period had expired, it produced over Rs. 4 crores (£4 millions), which was more than double of the amount originally proposed.

Rehabilitation of Government Paper.

During the period under review, attempts were made to deal with the serious depreciation of the old 3 and 3½ per cent. stock, which had for some time been engaging the attention of Government. Two non-official committees were formed in Calcutta and Bombay respec-

tively with an experienced officer of the Finance Department as Secretary to both. Both committees were opposed to any concessions such as the raising of the rate of interest, which would benefit the holders of those securities at the expense of the general tax-payer. The Calcutta Committee favoured the issue, at a discount if necessary, of a long-date terminable loan at 5 per cent. interest, income-tax free, into which the holders of 3, 3½ and 4 per cent. securities should be allowed to convert their holdings on payment of a cash subscription to be fixed at the time of the conversion with reference to market quotations. The Bombay Committee recommended that Government should undertake to pay off the 3 and 3½ per cent. loans between the 45th and 50th year from the present time; and also purchase by public tender for cancellation every year 2 per cent. of such securities outstanding at the beginning of the year. These recommendations were published by Government for general information, but a decision on them had to be deferred till the future liabilities in the matter of new capital expenditure had become sufficiently determined to enable a borrowing policy to be settled for the future.

Company Registration, 1920-21.

Although the period under review was disastrous from the point of view of the finances of the Central Government, the number of new Companies registered in British India and the States of Mysore and Baroda increased from 905 in 1919-20 to 966 in 1920-21. The authorised capital, however, decreased from Rs. 276 crores (£276 millions) to Rs. 146 crores (£146 millions) in comparison with the preceding year. Among the most notable increases may be mentioned those of enterprises for sugar manufacture, for railways and tramways, for rice mills, for printing, publishing and stationery, for banking and loan, for cotton and jute, screws and presses. Noticeable decreases occurred under insurance, navigation, shipping, landing and warehousing, mills for wool, silk and hemp, cotton mills and jute mills, and tea.

Banking.

In previous reports mention has been made of the importance to the development of Indian trade of the extension of the banking facilities with which India is now so imperfectly provided. According to the latest figures available, in the pre-war year 1913 there were 12 Exchange banks doing business in India, of which the aggregate capital and reserves amounted to £37 millions, and their deposits in India to £31 millions. By 1920, notwithstanding the elimination of the great German Asiatic Bank, the total

number had risen to 15, of which the aggregate capital and reserves amounted to £90 millions and the deposits in India to £74 millions. Indian Joint Stock Banks with a paid-up capital and reserve of Rs. 5 lakhs and over have increased from 18 in 1913 to 25 in 1920; while their capital and reserves have increased in the same period from Rs. 364 lakhs (£3·64 millions) to Rs. 1,092 lakhs (£10·92 millions). The deposits of the Presidency Banks, which are now amalgamated as the Imperial Bank of India, rose from Rs. 588 lakhs in 1913 to Rs. 902 lakhs in 1920. The amalgamation to which reference has just been made was consummated in January 1921 by the disruption and reconstruction of the three Presidency Banks of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. The idea of a Central Bank had been under discussion for over three-quarters of a century; but it was principally as a result of war experience that the three banks realised the necessity of coming to an arrangement among themselves. Under the Imperial Bank of India Act, the nominal capital of the Bank is trebled, the capital of the three Presidency Banks, being 3¾ crores (£3·75 millions) and the additional authorised capital 7½ crores (£7·5 millions) in shares of Rs. 500 each. The control of the policy of the Bank is in the hands of a Central Board of Governors, while local affairs are controlled by local Boards at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, which are the lineal successors of the Directorates of the old Presidency Banks. The Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Secretaries of these local Boards are on the Central Board, upon which the Governor General in Council is empowered to nominate four non-officials. The Board is completed by two Managing Governors and the Controller of the Currency or another officer nominated by the Governor General. The Act retains with some slight modifications the limitations of the class of business in which the Bank may engage. The greatest innovation is the constitution of a London Office. By agreement with the administration, all the general banking business of Government is conducted by the Bank which is intended to hold all treasury balances wherever it has branches. The Bank further undertakes to open one hundred new branches within five years, the location of one-fifth being at the absolute discretion of Government. One of the important clauses of this agreement empowers the Governor General in Council to issue instructions to the Bank in respect of any matter which in his opinion vitally affects his financial policy or the safety of the Government balances. It further provides that the Controller of the Currency or other officer nominated by the Governor General

The Imperial Bank of India.

in Council to the Central Board may prevent any action being taken by the Board until the previous approval of the Governor General in Council has been attained, if he considers such action detrimental to the financial policy of Government.

General Trade Conditions, 1920-21.

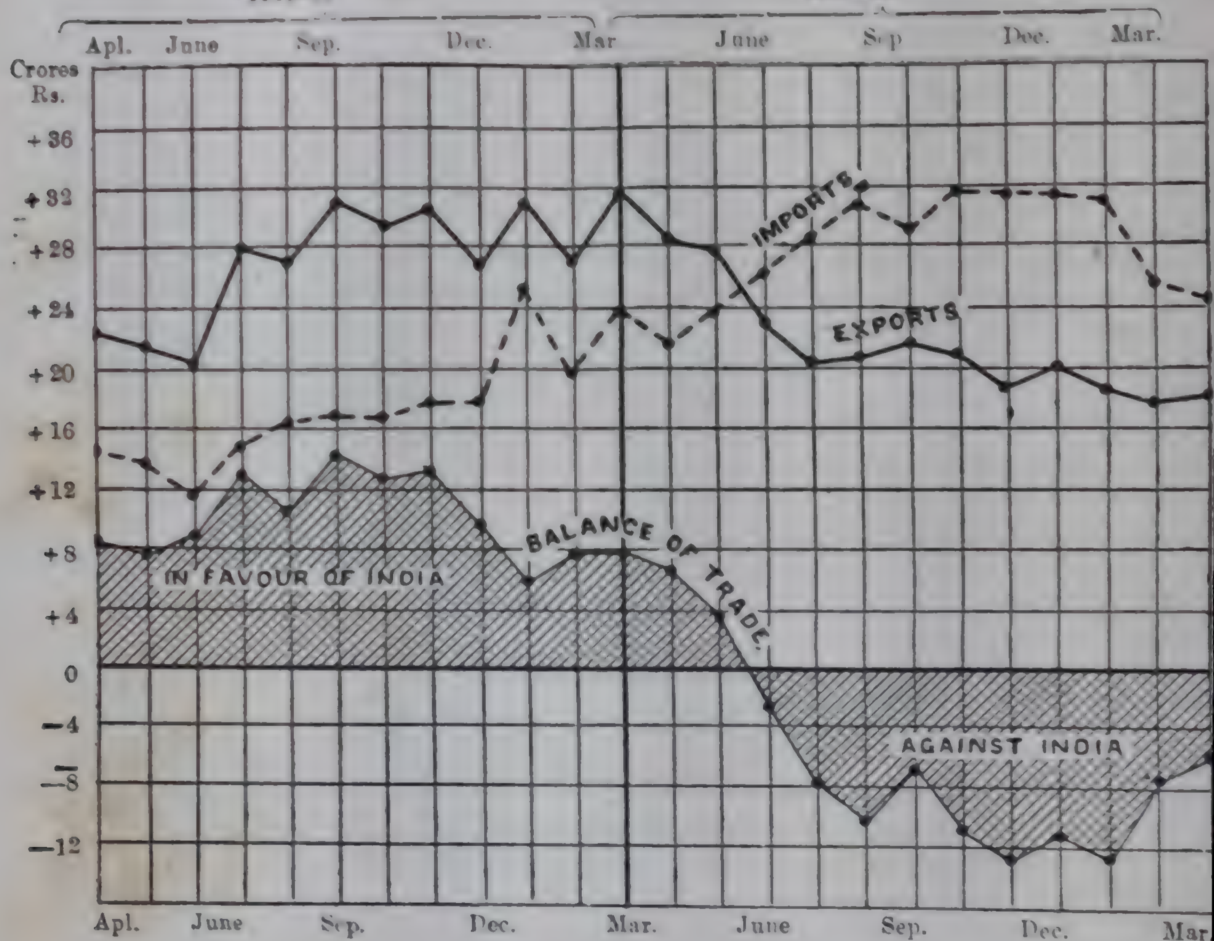
A brief analysis of Indian trade during the year 1920-21 is necessary in order to understand the financial conditions which have been outlined on a previous page. In the last year's report we noticed that the total foreign trade of British India had attained the unprecedented figure of £535 millions on the basis of a 2s. rupee, as against £427 millions in the preceding year. The pace was too fast to last, and before the year 1919-20 had closed, there were clear indications that the inevitable reaction was at hand. By January 1920, freights had fallen, and tonnage was no longer scarce. Since freight charges are an important item in the landed cost of produce, and since neither dealers nor manufacturers can afford to buy on a falling market save for urgent requirements, forward orders on India diminished and subsequent business was largely confined to spot transactions. In February, 1920, a check to the rising prices of one or two commodities indicated that the stocks of those goods in the world's markets were approaching satiety levels. The downward trend of exchange, which was noticed in last year's report, constituted a third important factor. Moreover, taxation was everywhere high, financial stringency prevailed, foreign exchanges were capricious, and unrest was beginning seriously to affect the world's industries. Russia and Central Europe were still out of the market and India had lost in them some of her principal customers. Finally, owing to the poor harvest of 1920, it was impossible wholly to remove embargos on the export of food-grains, and one of the incidents to a favourable trade balance was in consequence curtailed. Fortunately, the slump found India commercially and financially in a strong position. Her currency does not show the signs of inflation so marked in other countries.

India's Strength.

The deflation of her notes was carried out to the extent of Rs. 19 crores (£19 millons) from Rs. 185 crores (£185 millions) in January 1920 to Rs. 166 crores (£166 millions) in March 1921. Financial stringency was at no time during the year so apparent or so keenly felt as in Europe and in America. Indeed, inspite of adverse trade conditions which operated persistently throughout 1920-21, the total trade of the year, imports and exports combined, reached the very high figure of Rs. 592 crores (£592 millions) and thus exceeded the record of the previous year. The strong



IMPORTS, EXPORTS, AND BALANCE OF TRADE IN INDIA (PRIVATE MERCHANDISE ONLY)



position built up by India during the war may be stated in terms of her balance of trade. During the five years ending in March 1914, she closed her annual trade accounts of private merchandise with an average credit balance of Rs. 78 crores. During the five years of war 1914-15 to 1918-19, the annual credit was reduced to Rs. 76 crores but increased to the record figure of Rs. 119 crores during the year ending the 31st March 1920. During the year ending the 31st March 1921, however, the trade balance swung against India to the extent of Rs. 79 crores (£79 millions at the new rate of the rupee). It is not easy to determine exactly to what extent this adverse balance implies the dissipation of financial strength. The bulk of the imports during the year 1920-21 represented the execution on a falling rupee of orders placed when exchange was high. But, although each order represented a loss, in view of the steady fall both of exchange and prices, and in view of the consequent locking-up of capital in stocks which might never return even the expenditure originally remitted, India's financial resources as a whole had emerged successfully from the war and she was better able to face the prospective loss than she would have been 8 or 9 years earlier. The adverse trade balance of the year must therefore be considered in view of the fact that this period follows an epoch of remarkable prosperity, during which foreign trade was extended and profits were amassed. Although the larger proportion of these profits were remitted abroad, during the early months of the year, they went largely to finance the purchase of machinery, railway materials and other productive expenditure. The closing months of the financial year, January to March 1921, showed the volume of exports low in comparison with earlier records, but none the less fairly steady at about Rs. 18 crores each month. Imports dwindled from Rs. 31·25 crores for January to nearly 25½ crores for February and 24¼ crores for March. After this, as will subsequently be apparent, exports dropped steadily on account of smaller shipments of raw hides and skins, raw cotton, raw jute, cotton twist and yarn and jute gunny bags and cloth, only to increase once more in November and December 1921 on account of the larger exports of raw cotton, hides and skins and tea. But, although the year 1920-21 closed in a state of serious depression, which continued almost to the end of the calendar year 1921, there are certain factors of considerable importance which seem to indicate that permanent

Balance of Trade, 1920-21.

Trade Prospects.

obstacles to a revival of trade do not exist. While exchange is low and fluctuating, it has survived the slump of Continental exchanges. The internal currency position is good, and the note-issue well supported. On the other hand, labour difficulties are in evidence as in other parts of the world; and railway facilities, which vitally affect the coal position, are handicapped by many years' depreciation. India has a lee-way to make up in productive capital expenditure on plant, machinery and railway materials. But the favourable monsoon of the year 1921, together with the fact that Continental countries, particularly those commonly judged bankrupt, have already begun to purchase Indian goods in small quantities, seems to show that, though the revival of trade may be slow, the conditions essential to such a revival are in existence.

India's Imports, 1920-21.

Turning first to the imports of merchandise, we see that in the year 1920-21 the total value under this head amounted to £335 millions (Rs. 335 crores). Of this, the most important item was cotton manufactures, which increased considerably in value from Rs. 59 crores (£59 millions) in 1919-20 to Rs. 102 crores (£102 millions) in 1920-21. Comparing these figures with those of the pre-war year 1913-14, which were Rs. 66 crores, it may be remarked that the value of cotton manufactures represented respectively 28, 30, and 36 per cent. of India's total imports during each of the three years specified. Imports of Indian twist and yarn decreased slightly in average value during 1920-21 but increased enormously in quantity, namely, from 15 million lbs. in 1919-20 to 47 million lbs. in the period under review.

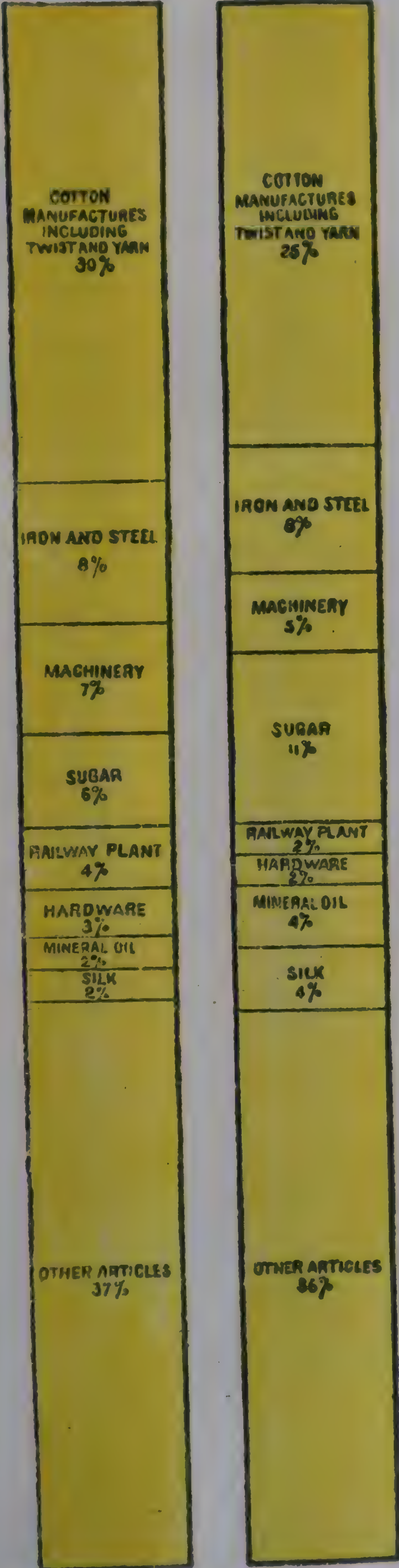
Cotton.

Cotton piece-goods, which have always taken a prominent place among India's imports, exceeded in value during 1920-21 any other three classes of imported goods. The principal increase during that period was in coloured, printed and dyed goods, the most expensive class. These rose in quantity from 208 million yards in 1919-20 to 489 million yards in 1920-21. But it is interesting to notice that the serious price-inflation of recent years has been responsible for a remarkable reduction in India's demand for two or three of the principal classes of goods. In the pre-war year 1913-14 the imports of grey, white and coloured goods in million yards were approximately 1,534; 790 and 830. In the year under review these figures had shrunk respectively to 580; 421 and 489. Compared with the year 1919-20, the United Kingdom improved her position in Indian markets during the year 1920-21 so far as coloured piece-goods were concerned, but lost ground to Japan in greys. In white goods there was a little change.

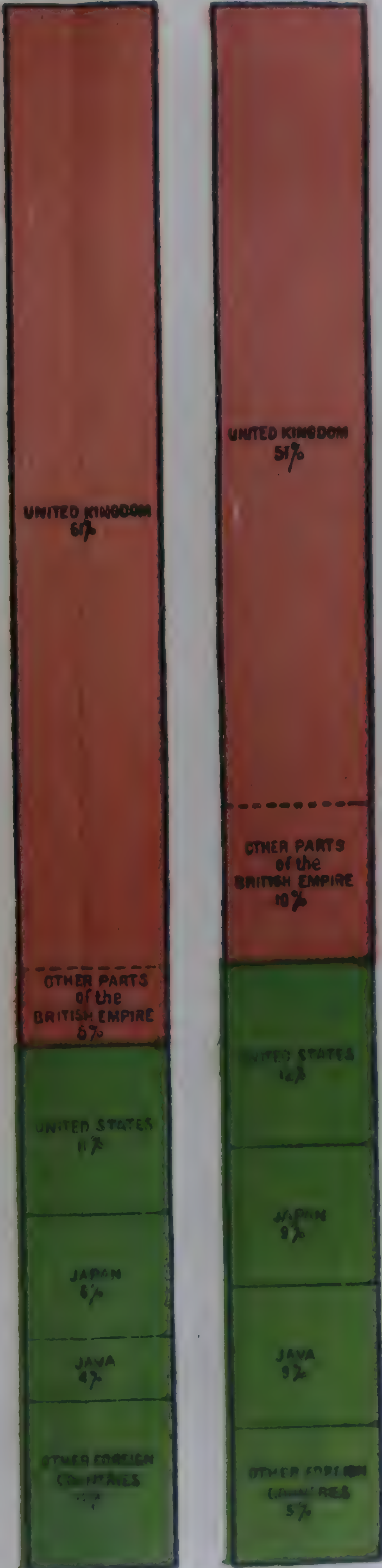
SHARE OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES AND COUNTRIES IN THE IMPORT TRADE OF BRITISH INDIA IN 1920-21, AS COMPARED WITH THE YEAR 1919-20.

IMPORTS

(1) SHARE OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES



(2) SHARE OF PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES



Note the increase in the percentage share of iron and steel, machinery, cotton manufactures, railway plant and hardware and the decrease in the case of sugar, mineral oil and silk, as compared with the previous year.

Note the increase in the share of the United Kingdom and the decrease in the case of Other parts of the British Empire, the United States, Japan and Java, as compared with the previous year

Iron and Steel.

Next in order of importance after cotton manufactures come imports of iron and steel, which during 1920-21 usurped from sugar the second place. The reason for this is plain. India had long been starving for iron and steel goods. In 1913-14 her requirements had exceeded one million tons, whereas in 1918-19 she had only been able to secure something less than one-fifth and in 1919-20 something less than one-half, of that quantity. During 1920-21, imports under this head were just short of 0·7 million tons. The most important items were sheets and plates, imported in 1920 21 to the extent of 0·22 million tons ; steel bars and channel account for 0·15 million tons. Constructional materials—beams, pillars, girders and bridge work—had been for some years in great demand in India, but difficult to secure. As against a 1913-14 requirement of these materials amounting to 0·09 million tons, the country was able to obtain in 1919-20 only 0·02 million tons and in 1920-21, 0·08 million tons. The import from the United Kingdom, which was 0·5 million tons under the whole class, nearly doubled that of 1919-20 : Britain's share in the total trade being 70 per cent. as compared with 63 per cent. in 1919-20. The share of the United States decreased from 31 to 16 per cent.

Machinery and Mill Work.

Third in importance comes machinery and mill work. The total imports of 1920-21 were valued at Rs. 24 crores (£24 millions) as compared with Rs. 9·6 crores (£9·6 millions) in 1919-20. The most important items were electrical machinery (£2 millions), cotton textile machinery (£3·7 millions) and jute mill machinery (£2·8 millions). Imports of paper mill, rice mill, sugar and tea machinery all increased as compared with the previous year. Of the total imports under this head the United Kingdom supplied 79 per cent., as against 67 per cent. in 1919. The share of the United States decreased to 17 per cent. from 30 per cent. in the previous year.

Railway Plant and Rolling Stock.

Next in importance come Railway plant and rolling-stock. Imports under this head on private and Government account were valued at £16·5 millions (Rs. 16·5 crores) in 1920-21. This total considerably exceeded that of the previous year (£9 millions) and even the total of the last pre-war year (£14 millions). But in view of high prices, the total quantities of constructional material, plant and rolling stocks secured during the year under review must have been considerably less than the quantities purchased in 1913-14. The London loan of £7½

millions, to which reference has previously been made, will, so it is announced, be entirely devoted to the purchase of railway material.

Sugar.

During the year under review, sugar, which in the war period had ranked second only to cotton piece-goods in India's import trade, sank to a poor fourth. The total quantity imported during the year 1920-21 fell from 0·4 million tons to 0·24 million tons. The principal source of supply was, as always, Java, which easily maintained the first place with 0·21 million tons or nearly 89 per cent. of the total imports. India's own production of cane sugar fell from 3 million tons in 1919-20 to 2·5 million tons in 1920-21, the yield being seriously affected by a poor monsoon and by a contracted acreage.

Motor Cars, etc.

In motor cars and motor cycles the trade has increased considerably of late years. In 1913-14 it ranked only 13th in order of importance; while in 1920-21 it was 6th, with a total value of £12 millions. The increase in imports of motor cars, which rose from 400 in 1918-19 to nearly 10,000 in 1919-20 was repeated in 1920-21 when more than 15,000 cars to the value of nearly £8 millions were imported. Of these more than 2,500 came from the United Kingdom as compared with 448 in 1919-20. The United States still holds by far the most prominent place with an importation of more than 10,000.

Hardware.

The important category of hardware, which includes a number of items such as tools, metal lamps, enamel iron ware, agricultural implements, etc., rose from slightly over 4 crores (£4 millions) in 1919-20 to more than 9 crores (£9 millions) in 1920-21, the imports of agricultural instruments and metal lamps doubling the values recorded for the previous year. Of the total imports of hardware, 58 per cent. came from the United Kingdom, 25 per cent. from America and 8 per cent. from Japan.

Mineral Oils.

Among other heads which deserve a word of notice may be mentioned, in the first place, mineral oils. During the war a shortage of kerosene was experienced in India, and in 1918-19 the imports had only been 12¾ million gallons as compared with nearly 69 million in 1913-14. In the course of the period reviewed in last year's report, this deficiency was made good by the importation of over 94 million gallons. During 1920-21, however, the trade contracted again to 57 million gallons, which was lower than the pre-war

figure. Coastwise imports from Burma to India amounted to 98 million gallons as compared with 104 million gallons in 1919-20. Of the foreign supplies, the United States of America contributed over 62 per cent., Borneo 23 per cent., Persia and the Straits 7 and 6 per cent. respectively. Increased demands for fuel oil on account of railways, steamships and industrial enterprise explain an increase in the imports under this head from 34 million gallons in 1919-20 to over 48 millions in 1920-21. In the case of paper and paste board, the average imports of printing paper before the war had been about 16,000 tons annually. Imports during the war averaged only 13,000 tons with the result that stocks had to be replenished. During the year under review, the quantity rose to nearly 28,000 tons, although there was actually a decline in value from Rs. 90 lakhs (£0·9 million) in 1918-19 to Rs. 63 lakhs (£0·63 million) in 1919-20, the fall being due chiefly to high exchange. In silk there was a slight decline from last year's figures. Of the total imports of silk piece-goods, nearly 22½ million yards valued at over Rs. 4 crores (£4 millions), Japan contributed over half, to the value of more than Rs. 2 crores. China and Hongkong contributed Rs. 1·6 crores, and the United Kingdom less than Rs. 11 lakhs.

Paper and Paste Board.

Silk.

Export Trade: General Considerations.

Turning now to the export trade of India during the year 1920-21, we notice that the total exports, despite a higher level of prices, were less than those during the last pre-war year, amounting in fact to no more than Rs. 238 crores (£238 millions). The reasons for this are not far to seek. The general cost of living, wages, and the cost of production rose, reducing the margins of profit. The monsoon of 1920 was short, and the official control of food-grains, the export of which constitutes a considerable item in India's foreign trade, had to be retained. Moreover, such foreign countries as were in a position to buy had bought to excess, and countries starved of goods had not sufficient exchange strength to place orders. Stocks in India rose, with the result that the slump was general and acute. A factor of considerable importance to the export trade was the steady decline during the year 1920-21, in the sterling value of the rupee, which has already been mentioned. This naturally served to modify the decline in rupee prices, which did not in general show so violent a fall in India as the corresponding rates, when expressed in foreign currency, in foreign markets. Upon certain sections of trade,

notably that in tea, the effect was disastrous; but in other lines the foreign consumer was encouraged to meet his immediate requirements by placing spot orders in India, and thus avoiding highly-priced stocks which the regular dealers in his own country were left to carry. One interesting feature of the export trade remains to be mentioned. The wide margins of price between superior and inferior qualities of the same classes of goods, characteristic of the war period, were generally maintained. This was due, in the first place, to the closing of several markets for the lower grades of Indian goods—hides and skins, jute, tea and rice —formerly constituted by Central Europe and Russia. The cheaper qualities of goods were, therefore, in poor demand, and their prices fell accordingly. In the second place, during the war, the demands had been largely on munitions account, and for military purposes the better classes of goods commanded a premium. In the third place, as freights rose, they accounted for more and more of the price of landed goods and discouraged the demand for cheap qualities. There are already signs that the margins between some classes of goods are beginning to contract once more—an indication of a return to normal trade conditions. But so long as the freights and costs of production remain high in comparison with pre-war levels, the discrepancy between prices of superior and inferior grades of similar commodities will doubtless continue to be wide.

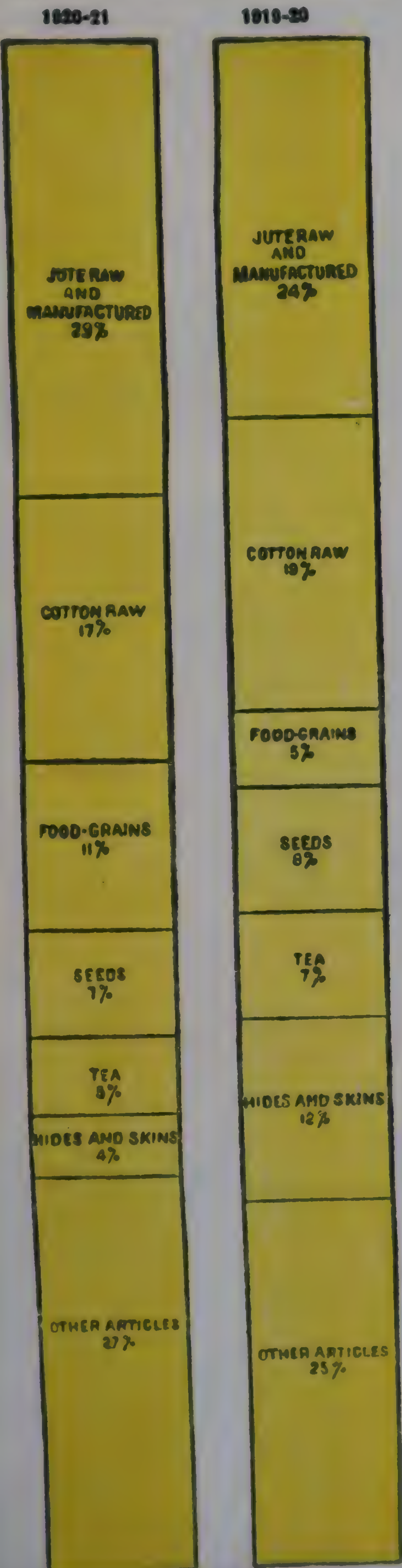
Jute.

When we examine the composition of the export trade of India during 1920-21, we see that the principal items in order of importance were, first, jute, raw and manufactured; secondly, cotton, raw and manufactured; thirdly, food-grains and flour; fourthly, seeds; fifthly, tea; sixthly, hides and skins, raw and manufactured; seventhly, lac and shellac. Turning to jute, we find that the total value of raw jute exported amounted to Rs. 16·4 crores (£16·4 millions), as against Rs. 24·7 crores (£24·7 millions) in 1919-20. In manufactured jute, the value of exports amounted to Rs. 52·99 crores (£52·99 millions). Shipments to the United Kingdom were considerably reduced on account of the accumulation of stocks, the quantity of bags falling to 48 millions from 57 millions in 1919-20. On the other hand, the United States increased her purchases of bags from 43 to 72 million, Australia from 29 to 91 million, and Chili from 15 to 54 million. There was also an increase in the exports of jute cloth to North America. These increases, it should be noticed, occurred in the early portion of the year under review, and from September 1920, foreign markets were satisfied, and a decline in prices resulted.

SHARE OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES AND COUNTRIES IN THE EXPORT TRADE OF BRITISH INDIA IN 1920-21, AS COMPARED WITH THE YEAR 1919-20.

EXPORTS

(1) SHARE OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES



Note the increase in the percentage share of jute raw and manufactured and food-grains, and the decrease in the case of raw cotton, seeds, tea, and hides and skins as compared with the previous year.

(2) SHARE OF PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES



Note the increase in the share of Other parts of the British Empire and Belgium and the decrease in the case of the United Kingdom and [illegible] with the previous year.

During the year 1920-21, the exports of raw cotton from India declined to 2·07 million from 2·4 million bales. It is interesting to notice that the Continent, chiefly Germany, Belgium, and Italy, nearly doubled its purchases, which increased from 0·48 million to 0·82 million bales; while Japan reduced her purchases by nearly one-half, from 1·6 million bales to 0·94 million bales. Indian mills, it may be stated, continued during 1920-21 the steady increase in the production of yarn they had maintained since the Armistice year; but they failed to reach the output of 1913-14. The figures are 615 million lbs. for 1918-19, 636 for 1919-20, and 660 for 1920-21, as compared with 683 for 1913-14. India chiefly exports yarns to the Far East, and her trade in this commodity was seriously affected by the famine in China. Taken as a whole, the export trade declined to 83 million lbs. in 1920-21 from 152 million lbs. in 1919-20. In cotton piece-goods, the exports also fell off in 1920-21, but it should be noticed that their quantities as well as their value have left far behind the figures recorded before the war. Indian mills are in a much stronger position now than in the year 1913-14. At that period they produced 1,164 million yards. During the period under review, they produced 1,580 million yards, although the abnormal deflation of the year was responsible for a decline from the figure of the previous 12 months, namely, 1,639 million yards. It may be mentioned that despite the decline in prices in the world's markets, the prices of piece-goods were remarkably sustained, owing chiefly to the effect of a falling exchange on the imported goods which dictate local market rates.

Cotton.

Under the heading of food-grains and flour, the most important items are rice and wheat. These remained under control throughout the period under review, since when war conditions ceased, famine or semi-famine conditions took their place. During the year under review, out of a total production of cleaned rice in India and Burma of 28 million tons, 1·66 million tons of rice and 35,000 tons of paddy were allowed to leave the country under license. Generally speaking, Indian colonists overseas have now the first claim on any surplus which India can spare. Accordingly, during the period under review, Ceylon took 276,000 tons, the Straits 183,000, Mauritius 36,000, the West Indies 10,000, and East Africa 9,500. The fall in the world prices of rice which occurred in the latter part of 1920 made it possible for the Government of India to modify very considerably the system of control over Burma rice exports in 1921. Between

Food-grains and Flour.

Rice.

Burma and India free trade was re-established, and all control was removed from trade with foreign countries, except that shipment was only permitted under license up to a limited quantity of the exportable surplus, which was first estimated at 2·1 million tons of white rice, but subsequently reduced to 1·9 million tons. It was announced at the same time that, should Burma prices rise beyond the level of the rate fixed in 1920, the Government of India reserved to themselves power to reimpose a strict control. Wheat next claims attention. We notice that out of a production of 6·7 million tons during 1920-21, exports to the amount of 0·24 million tons were permitted. The 1920 wheat crop was good, being 9 per cent. above the average of the previous five years, with the result that between the months October 1920 and March 1921 the Government of India agreed, under certain restrictions, to release 0·4 million tons of wheat for export. Arrangements were made for the purchase of the quantity forthcoming within certain fixed limits of price and for its shipment and sale to foreign countries through six principal wheat-exporting firms at Karachi. But in February 1921, in view of the heavy fall which occurred in world prices, the Government of India decided to abandon the scheme for the purchase and sale of Indian wheat on Government account. The total quantity purchased for Government up to that date was 0·24 million tons. After that date and up to the 31st March 1921, firms were permitted to make purchases and sales on private account up to the balance of each firm's allotment, subject to the conditions that the total quantity of 0·4 million tons was not to be exceeded, and that the purchases should not be made above a certain price. The result was that the total quantity of wheat bought in India under this scheme, both on Government and private account between October 1920 and March 1921, amounted to only 0·3 million tons. Control over the less important food-grains resulted in a decline in their export from 0·7 million tons in 1918-19 to 0·2 million tons in 1919-20 and 0·093 million tons in 1920-21.

Wheat.

Indian oilseeds fared badly in foreign markets during 1920-21, the total export of seeds declining from 0·83 million tons in 1919-20 to 0·624 million tons in the period under review. In point of fact, India's own consumption of vegetable oils and cake is very great, and in this line of trade she looks on foreign markets as a convenience, not a necessity. Local needs were imperious during 1920-21, and although the crop was better than in the previous year, they were able to outbid a weak foreign demand. The principal

Oilseeds.

purchaser was the United Kingdom, with 41 per cent., followed by Belgium, with 28 per cent., of India's export trade in seeds. In vegetable oils there was a similar decline in the quantity exported.

Tea.

The tea export trade underwent a considerable disaster in 1920-21, the exports by sea to foreign countries falling from 379 million lbs. in 1919-20 to 285 million lbs. in the period under review. This was due to the fact that the United Kingdom, which is India's best customer, had become over-stocked. Heavy shipments at the end of 1919, increasing home stocks, and heavy production of inferior grades early in 1920, led to the collapse of the market in March 1920, although the finer qualities were not hit to nearly the same extent as the inferior grades. The effects of the slump were aggravated by the downward movement of exchange. Calcutta firms, in particular, who account for some nine-tenths of the trade, are accustomed to negotiate their bills at the time of shipment to finance their gardens. Accordingly, during the year under review, they suffered, on the one hand, from high rates of exchange, and, on the other, from declining prices in the London auction sales. Fortunately, the position at the beginning of the 1921 season was more satisfactory from the standpoint of a glutted market, a rough estimate showing that the Indian crop had been reduced by 37 per cent. at the end of June 1921.

Hides and Skins.

In hides and skins, India's export trade suffered no less seriously than tea from the slump in foreign markets. The initial causes were undoubtedly, first, the heavy stocks of raw hides, leather, boots and shoes over-hanging British markets as a result of the trade boom of 1919-20; secondly, the balance of munitions stocks still carried forward; and thirdly, general financial stringency in producing markets, coupled with exchange difficulties in those European countries where stocks were known to be low. In raw hides and skins, accordingly, the trade suffered so seriously that in March 1921, the Legislative Assembly considered the desirability of removing the export duty of 15 per cent. *ad valorem*—including the two-thirds rebate to tanners within the empire. In view of the financial position of Government, however, the duty was allowed to continue. The quantity of raw cow hides exported fell from 39,000 tons in 1919-20 to 14,000 tons in the year under review, while the value declined from Rs. 6·3 crores (£6·3 millions) to Rs. 1·6 crores (£1·6 millions). Raw goat skins, another very important export, declined in quantity from 31,000 tons to 10,000 tons, while their value declined from Rs. 14·4 crores (£14·4 millions) to Rs. 3 crores (£3 millions). The trade in tanned hides

and skins experienced much the same set-back, the exports of tanned hides falling from 24,000 tons in 1919-20 to 4,000 tons in 1920-21, while the exports of tanned skins fell from 4·9 thousand tons to 2·6 thousand tons.

Shellac.

In shellac, of which India has a virtual monopoly, the high figure of 250,000 cases of lac of all kinds, which was the quantity exported in 1919 20, declined to 206,000 cases. The total value, however, increased from Rs. 7·25 crores (£7·25 millions) to more than Rs. 7·5 crores (£7·5 millions). The chief shipments were to America, which took nearly 148,000 cases, as compared with only 38,000 cases to the United Kingdom.

Direction of Trade.

More significant, perhaps, to the general reader than the actual composition of India's foreign trade, is the direction which that trade assumes. In 1920-21, we notice, first a net increase of from 37·7 to 44·1 in the percentage share of the United Kingdom in the trade of India. This may be compared with the pre-war figure of 40·7 per cent. Under imports, the increase was remarkable, Great Britain's percentage rising from 50·5 in 1919-20 to 61 in 1920-21. On the other hand, there was a decrease in the United Kingdom's share of India's exports, from 29·6 to 21·9 per cent. In the import trade, the share of the rest of the British Empire declined from 10 to 5 per cent., but in the export trade their share rose from 14 to 21 per cent. The figures for the whole British Empire now stand at 56 per cent. of the total Indian trade, being 66 per cent. of the imports, and 43 per cent. of the exports ; as against 51 per cent. of the total trade, that is, 61 per cent. of the imports, and 44 per cent. of the exports in 1919-20.

British Empire.

During the year 1920-21 there was a slight decrease in the total trade with the United States from 13·8 to 12·4 per cent. ; her share in the import trade declining from 12·1 to 10·5 per cent., while in exports her position remained practically unchanged, namely nearly 15 per cent. Japan, on the other hand, suffered an all-round decrease in her share of India's trade ; under imports, her share declined from 9·2 to 7·9, under exports from 14·3 to 9·5. As a net result, her share of the total trade decreased from 12·3 to 8·6 per cent.

U. S. A.

Japan.

Turning to the details of India's trade with the United Kingdom, we see that imports from Great Britain showed an increased value of no less than Rs. 100 crores (£100 millions), standing in the year under review at the figure of Rs. 205 crores. (£205 millions). Nearly 40

per cent. of the total imports from the United Kingdom consisted of cotton manufactures, including twists and yarn, which were valued at Rs. 81 crores (£81 millions), as against Rs. 51 crores (£51 millions) in the preceding year. Other important groups, namely metals and manufactures, machinery, railway plant and rolling stock, accounted for 29 per cent., or nearly one-third, of the total imports, as against 23 per cent. in 1919-20. The quantity of cotton piece-goods imported rose by 32 per cent. to 1,292 million yards, but this was still 58 per cent. below the imports in the pre-war year. Turning to exports, the principal articles were tea, over Rs. 10 crores (£10 millions), raw and manufactured jute (nearly the same figure), seeds (Rs. 7 crores : £7 millions), food-grains (Rs. 4½ crores : £4½ millions), and raw and tanned hides and skins (Rs. 3½ crores : £3½ millions). Turning to foreign countries, we notice that there has been a general decrease of their trade with India as compared with 1919-20, certain Continental countries in Europe providing the only exceptions. As compared with the pre-war year 1913-14, the value of the imports from almost all the Continental countries increased, with the exception of Germany and Austria. Under exports, there was a marked decrease in the case of France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Sweden and the Netherlands, accompanied by an increase in the trade with Belgium, Norway, Spain and Switzerland. As in the preceding year, the United States occupied the second place in India's foreign trade. The value of imports of American goods rose to Rs. 35 crores (£35 millions), an increase of Rs. 10 crores (£10 millions) as compared with 1919-20. The principal articles imported into India were motor cars and motor vehicles (Rs. 6½ crores : £6½ millions), mineral oils, iron and steel (Rs. 5 crores £5 millions each), machinery and mill work (Rs. 4 crores : £4 millions) and hardware (Rs. 2¼ crores : £2¼ millions). The bulk of the exports to the United States consisted of raw and manufactured jute (nearly Rs. 24 crores : £24 millions), shellac (Rs. 5 crores : £5 millions), and raw hides and skins (Rs. 2½ crores : £2½ millions). These articles accounted for 91 per cent. of the total value. With Japan, the value of the total trade of India decreased by Rs. 15 crores (£15 millions) to over Rs. 50 crores (£50 millions). As compared with 1919-20, there was a remarkable increase in Indian imports of cotton twist and yarn and grey piece-goods. The total value of all sorts of cotton manufactures amounted to Rs. 15 crores (£15 millions), as against Rs. 6 crores (£6 millions) in the preceding year, representing 56 per cent. of the total import trade with Japan. Over 20

General Analyses.

million lbs. of cotton twist and yarn and 170 million yards of cotton piece-goods were imported from Japan, as against 2 million lbs. and 76 million yards during the year 1919-20. As in the previous year, Japan supplied the bulk of the imports of glassware, matches and silk manufactures. Of exports to Japan, no less than 85 per cent. of the total value consisted of raw cotton. The quantity, however, declined by 43 per cent. to 167,000 tons, and the value by 50 per cent. to Rs. 20½ crores (£20½ millions).

In the preceding paragraphs we have been dealing with India's trade during the financial year 1920-21, which is the latest date for which the minute analyses presented in the annual publication known as the Review of the Trade of India are available. During the last 9 months of the calendar year 1921, the tendencies which have been indicated continued to operate. A summary survey of trade tendencies of the calendar year 1921 shows to what extent the symptoms of trade decline have persisted. The grand total of imports and re-exports of merchandise during the calendar year is found to be Rs. 504 crores (£504 millions) as against Rs. 615 crores (£615 millions) in 1920, which represents a decrease of 18 per cent. The imports of foreign merchandise during the year 1921 amounted to Rs. 278 crores (£278 millions), as against Rs. 323 crores (£323 millions), while the exports amounted to Rs. 212 crores (£212 millions), as against Rs. 273 crores (£273 millions). In other words, in comparing the calendar year 1921 with the calendar year 1920, the imports showed a decrease of Rs. 45 crores, or 14 per cent.; exports, a decrease of Rs. 60 crores, or 22 per cent.; re-exports, of Rs. 6 crores or 32 per cent. During the first four months January to April of the calendar year 1921, there was an increase in the imports, as compared with the corresponding months of 1920. This was due to larger imports of raw cotton, electrical instruments, machinery, railway plant and rolling stock. In all the remaining months of the year there was a decrease, which was mainly due to smaller imports of cotton piece-goods, and also of motor vehicles and mineral oils. Among the chief imports during the calendar year was wheat, which rose to 4·6 crores (£4·6 millions) from an almost infinitesimal sum in 1920. There was also a heavy increase, amounting to no less than Rs. 4·1 crores, in the import of coal; to Rs. 2·8 crores in raw cotton; to Rs. 2·3 crores in electrical instruments; and to Rs. 2·6 crores in sugar. On the other hand, imported piece-goods underwent a spectacular decline. The falling off in the value of grey goods imported was Rs. 3·2 crores (£3·2 millions),

Calendar Year 1921: Imports.

in white Rs. 13·1 crores (£13·1 millions), and in coloured Rs. 22·8 crores (£22·8 millions). Indeed the total decline in the value of yarns and textile fabrics imported into India during the calendar year 1921 showed a decline from 122·6 crores (£122·6 millions)—the figure of the calendar year 1920—to Rs. 69·6 crores (£69·6 millions). On the other hand, values of railway plant and rolling stock imported in the year 1921 attained the figure of 20·6 crores (£20·6 millions), from Rs. 9·5 crores (£9·5 millions) in the preceding calendar year. In the export trade, there was a marked decrease in the months, January to October 1921, mainly due to smaller shipments of raw hides and skins, raw cotton, raw jute, cotton twist and yarn, jute gunny bags and jute cloth; but in the last months of the year, particularly in November and December, there was a slight increase over the figures of the last calendar year on account of larger exports of raw cotton, raw hides and skins, and tea. The only commodities which show an important increase in the export trade of the calendar year 1921 are rice, the value of which increased by Rs. 2·97 crores (£2·97 millions); wheat, which increased by Rs. 3·72 crores (£3·72 millions), and tea, which increased by Rs. 5 crores (£5 millions). On the other hand, there was a marked and sensational decrease in jute gunny bags and jute cloth, to the value of Rs. 10·2 crores (£10·2 millions) and Rs. 16 crores (£16 millions), respectively. There was also smaller decreases in raw cotton (Rs. 9·7 crores: £9·7 millions), raw jute (Rs. 4·45 crores: £4·45 millions), and cotton twist and yarn (Rs. 5·2 crores: £5·2 millions). As a result, the balance of India's trade during the calendar year 1921 is against her to the extent of Rs. 46·7 crores (£46·7 millions). The net imports of merchandise into the country for the calendar year 1921 stand at the figure of Rs. 53 crores (£53 millions), as against Rs. 21 crores (£21 millions) in the calendar year 1920. This figure may profitably be compared with the net export of merchandise standing at the figure of Rs. 127 crores (£127 millions) which characterised the calendar year 1919.

Calendar Year 1921: Exports.

Balance of Trade.

Industries.

The general dependence of Indian trade upon the prosperity of Indian industries needs no lengthy demonstration. The war-period gave a considerable shock to those who were anxious for the industrial progress of the country, since the notable report of the Indian Industrial Commission showed that India was unable to produce more than a small fraction of the articles essential for the maintenance of ordinary civilized activities.

Rich as she is in raw material, India is still very poor in industrial achievements; and in several important branches of industry. She has to buy back manufactured articles towards which she has already contributed raw materials. The difficulty has hitherto been that without active support on the part of the administration, few Indian industries, except those based upon natural monopoly, could hope to make headway against the organised competition of western countries. The English tendency to allow matters to follow their natural economic course accordingly prevailed. until war-experience served to change prevalent notions as to the function of the State in relation to industries. In justice to the Indian administration it must be remarked that some time prior to the war, certain attempts to encourage Indian industries by means of pioneer factories and Government subsidies, were effectually discouraged from Whitehall. Fortunately for India, the history of the war-period has effectively demonstrated the necessity of Government playing an active part in the industrial development of India. As was mentioned in preceding reports, the labours of the Industrial Commission led to the formulation of proposals for the organization of a central Department of Industries. In February 1921 the Secretary of State sanctioned the creation of such a Department as a permanent branch of the Government of India.

State-Aid.

The New Department of Industries.

This Department deals with industries including industrial intelligence; with industrial exhibition: and with central institutions for industrial training. It is also concerned with geology and minerals, including the geological survey of India and the administration of the Indian Mines Act. It further administers the Indian Explosives Act, the Indian Petroleum Act: the Indian Factories Act including labour legislation; Patents and Designs; Copyright; electrical legislation; legislation relating to steam boilers; Stores; Stationery and Printing; inter-provincial migration; and Salt.

Functions of the Central and Provincial Governments.

With the introduction of the new constitution, the development of industries became a provincial transferred subject. Hence the policy to be pursued in the matter of granting assistance to industries, the development of technical and industrial education, and to a large extent the research work necessary to establish the value of raw materials, is now determined by the Minister in each province in charge of the subject. The constitution, however, permits the

Central Government to retain control over industrial subjects when it considers such a course to be necessary. For example, the establishment of pioneer industries for the conduct of which, on an adequate scale, the resources of any province will be inadequate; or the establishment in similar circumstances of institutes for carrying on research and training which affect India as a whole, may be made the direct concern of the Central Government. In accordance with these conditions, the Central Government is proceeding to establish a school of mines and geology, and a central chemical research institute. The latter scheme, important as it is, has had to remain for the present in abeyance on account of the financial position. A similar difficulty has led to the abandonment of a scheme for the establishment of an Imperial tanning institute and demonstration boot factory in Calcutta; while the efforts of Government to secure the services of suitable experts for the investigation of the glass industry—which is of great importance to India—have so far been unsuccessful.

Purchase of Stores.

Among the most important of the immediate proposals made by the Industrial Commission was probably that of local purchase of Government and railway stores. The principle that Government stores should be purchased wherever possible in India has long been accepted; but in the absence of any institution for the amalgamation of indents and for technical inspection during manufacture, it has been difficult to go very far. Manufacturing industries could not, of course, be started without a sufficient and continuous market; while orders could not be placed so long as there existed no adequate means of manufacture. In consequence, demands have continued to be made on Great Britain for many articles and materials which might well have been manufactured in India if there had been any machinery for bringing Government buyers into effective touch with local manufacturers. As was mentioned in last year's report, a committee was appointed to scrutinise Government indents with a view to their being executed in an increasing degree in India, to consider methods by which the purchase of stores could be shared by the Central and Local Governments, and to examine the possibility of assisting railway companies and other public bodies to do the same thing. At the beginning of the period under review, the Secretary of State signified his approval, as a preliminary measure, to the appointment of three chief officers of the proposed Indian Stores Department. The Chief Controller of Stores and the Director of Purchases and Intelligence have now been appointed, and they

assumed charge of their duties on the 1st January 1922, from which date the new Department has come into existence.

Surplus Stores.

Considerable progress has also been made during the period under review in the disposal of surplus stores on behalf of His Majesty's Government; the closing of war commitments of the Indian Munitions Board; and the purchase of textiles for the army and civil departments. The work of disposing of textile surpluses, which had hitherto been conducted as a separate organization, was amalgamated in May 1921 with the work of disposal of other classes of stores. The aggregate value of textile surpluses disposed of during the year 1921 amounted to £1·12 millions (Rupees 1·12 crores), as compared with £1·04 millions realized by engineering and miscellaneous stores; £0·08 million by medical stores; and £0·06 million by foodstuffs. The Textile Purchases Branch acquired for the army and for certain civil departments during the period under review goods to the value of £1·58 millions; of which £1·16 millions were purchased from firms in India, £0·32 million was purchased from surplus stores and £0·09 million was purchased through the Director General of Stores, London.

Salt.

A very important sphere of the activities of the new Industries Department is that connected with salt, which plays a prominent part in the domestic economy of India. The shortage in this commodity which proved so serious a trouble through the years of the great war and the subsequent period, compelled the Northern India Salt Revenue Department to adopt certain expedients for the protection of the consumer. The scarcity inevitably arising from the lack both of internal and of over-seas transport, combined with the cessation of supplies from German and Turkish sources, encouraged speculators to exploit the situation. Towards the end of 1920 it was decided that the only possible remedy was to appoint, in every district in Northern India, as well as in certain Indian States, agents to whom an allotment of salt from Northern India sources could be made monthly on the basis of population. The internal distribution of salt within each district is controlled by the District Officer and within each State by the Darbar, the only requirement made by the Northern India Salt Revenue Department being the limitation of commission realized by the agent. The working of this scheme has produced a marked fall in retail prices in two-thirds of the districts of the United Provinces; in one-half of the Punjab districts, and in a certain number of Indian States. One main obstacle to the supply of cheap salt in

adequate quantities arises from the fact that the supply of salt from the Northern India sources is still unequal to the demand. Further, railway transport presents difficulties, and evasions on the part of vendors are not always easy to defeat. Considerable efforts are now being made to raise the output of salt from the Rajputana and the Punjab sources, which is distributed over the Punjab, the United Provinces, Rajputana, the Central India Agency, the nearer parts of Sind, and the Central Provinces and Berar. The output of the Bombay and Sind sources competes with that of Northern India in certain of these regions. In order to render the Northern India area independent of imported supplies, and unaffected by the operations of the speculator, it will be necessary roughly to double the average output of the Rajputana lakes and the Punjab mines. Large schemes for the development of these sources, estimated to cost over half a million sterling, have been launched with the advice of expert engineers. The work of development in the Rajputana lakes is in charge of an expert with special training and experience of the problems involved. The scheme provides for the construction of a dam across the neck of the Sambhar Lake, to enclose a small section which will be used as a brine reservoir; for electrical pumping plant; and for a new system of salt pans. The system of loading and despatching the manufactured salt is simultaneously undergoing revision. The scheme for the development of the Salt Range mines in the Punjab will, it is hoped, be commenced next year. This is of particular importance in view of the fact that the demand for rock salt is increasing in all parts of India, and, if the output from the Salt Range can be doubled before the replacement of shipping and reduction of overseas freight open the field again to the foreign manufacturer, it is probable that a new market of great value will be permanently retained for Khewra salt. A programme of the development of the Salt Range mines spread over five years has been prepared on the advice of the Consulting Engineer.

India's Sources of Salt.

Schemes for Development.

Industrial Conferences.

From what has been said as to the importance of the part played by the new popular Ministers in the future direction of industrial activities in the provinces, it is plain that the value of close consultation between the Central Department and the Provincial Departments is very great. During the period under review, two conferences of Directors of Industries were held in April and November respectively. But in view of altered condi-

tions, it was considered that these conferences should in future take the form of conferences of provincial Ministers in charge of industries, who would be invited to bring with them their Directors of Industries and any other officials whose attendance they might think desirable. The first of these new conferences was held in May 1921 in which all but one of the provincial Ministers in charge of Industries were present. This conference served a very useful purpose. Personal discussion enabled the new relations between the Central and Provincial Governments and methods of co-operation between the Provincial Departments of Industries to be better understood, and the opportunity was taken to determine lines of policy on many questions of great importance for the industrial development of the country. Among the more important questions which were placed before the Conference were the proposals to institute an All India Industrial Service and an All India Chemical Service which had been recommended by the Indian Industrial Commission. As under the new constitution the development of industries, and, therefore, the main work of the proposed Industrial Service, is a transferred subject, the Government of India thought it desirable that before they proceeded further with the questions, the Ministers newly appointed to take charge of the development of industries in the provinces should be given an opportunity of expressing their opinions on the question whether these two Services would be acceptable to the new form of Government. The adoption of the Indian Industrial Commission's proposal would involve the creation of new services with vested interests over which local Governments would exercise only a limited measure of control, while the work which they would have to perform would be entirely a provincial concern. It was decided at the Conference that in the case of both the projected Services a further opportunity should be given to the Provinces to consider the comparative advantages and disadvantages of employing Imperial services in this particular field of work, but at the same time there was a general feeling among the members that the provinces would prefer to engage experts themselves on short term contracts of service.

Provincial Activities.

A notable feature of the industrial progress of the country has been the increasing strength of the provincial organizations under the provincial Ministers and Directors of Industries. Turning to particular provinces we may notice that although industrial development has been greatly hampered by financial stringency, the progress achieved has none the less been consider-

able. In Madras, an Advisory Board of Industries, consisting of 12 members, was constituted at the end of 1920. Throughout the period under review it performed valuable services, and was invariably consulted on all matters of general importance. The Information Bureau was freely resorted to and supplied a large amount of information on industrial subjects. A great deal of practical work was also successfully performed. Experiments were made to investigate the possibilities of manufacturing flour phosphate, dyes, tartaric acid and coir fibre, as well as of cheapening the preliminary processes of weaving. An ink of good quality was produced and put on the market. Plant for boring and pumping was in such demand that the existing machinery proved inadequate to satisfy it. In other directions progress was equally satisfactory. The Government Trades School at Madras has now 217 students; the number of industrial schools supported by Government increased to 40; and the organization of working classes for juvenile hands employed in the various firms was aided and encouraged in every possible way. Seven peripatetic weaving parties toured the districts and instructed the local weavers in improving and cheapening their methods of work. In Bombay, the most important work of the Industries Department was answering enquiries of private individuals and industrial firms. The general public is little aware of the great volume of commercial and industrial information which is regularly collected and published by Government or which can be collected by enquiry through Government agency. The value of the work done by the Bombay Department of Industries in this matter is proved by the steady growth of the volume of enquiries, which increased to over 7,000 in 1921-22 as against under 6,000 in 1919-20. Considerable progress has also been made in the improvement of the hand-loom weaving industry. The object of the Department is to introduce improved appliances and methods among the weaving population so as to raise the standard and increase the amount of their output. The use of improved appliances and improved weaving methods is taught in two ways, namely, by means of weaving schools and by demonstrations. In the weaving schools there is a regular curriculum and instruction is given in the weaving of cotton and mercerised bordered goods of various kinds. Tuition is free and for the first three months pupils receive a stipend of Rs. 3 monthly, thereafter small prizes are given to the most regular attender and to the pupil who produces the best cloth. Demonstrations are on less elaborate lines. A demonstrator

Madras.

Bombay.

is sent to a weaving centre for about six months with two looms, on one of these he works with appliances and methods which the Department seeks to introduce, and on the other any local weaver can receive instruction and practise for himself. In some villages the results from these demonstrations have been very satisfactory, and they frequently evoke a request that a weaving school should be opened in their village. About 400 improved looms and the same number of dobbies have been introduced during the year as a result of these demonstrations. In the United Provinces the difficulty of obtaining machinery, railway transport and coal continues to hamper industrial progress. Of these various causes, the one which was perhaps the most locally important was the shortage of railway wagons required for the carriage of raw materials and finished products. Several mills and factories had to be closed down, and in respect both of tanneries and glass works there was a considerable fall in the number of operators. On the other hand, technical schools both Government and subsidised continue to do good work; and passed pupils have in most cases readily found employment in commercial firms or been able to start their own business. Special mention may be made of the Allahabad Carpentry School, which, although it was started only two years ago, is now one of the most successful and popular technical institutions in the province. During the year a new leather working school at Cawnpur was opened, and it soon had its full complement of students. At Farrukhabad, a Government fabric printing school was also started. As to the future of weaving schools, both permanent and peripatetic, a committee was appointed by Government to advise, and its report is at present under consideration. During the year the Government also considered the question of expanding the Chemical Research Institute, and in accordance with the advice of a committee of experts, it is now proposed to build a technological institute where students will be taught the elements of engineering and the chemistry of their particular subject, and will at the same time receive training on a factory scale in the subject which they are studying. In Bengal, while industrial activities were impeded by causes common to all India, aggravated by the prevalent labour unrest, there was none the less continued development in the industrial awakening of the Presidency. Companies are at work manufacturing machinery for the tea industry, and spare parts, replacements and repairs, for mill and other similar machinery. Several new companies have been promoted to work rice mills, oil mills and lac

United Provinces.

Bengal.

factories in the country districts, where raw materials are available at a low price. The results of the experiments for making paper pulp from bamboo have encouraged manufacturers to prepare for the extension of these operations on a commercial scale in places where road communications are good. The cottage industry of match-making, notwithstanding previous failures, has been attended with some success; hand-looms for weavers are finding favour; and several engineering firms started the manufacture of looms and accessories. The work done by the Calcuta Research Tannery continues to be encouraging, despite the fact that many tanneries started with high hopes have been compelled to close down. It has conducted systematic investigations on suitable raw materials and proper tanning methods, special attention being devoted during the period under review to the study of tannery waters and to the manufacture of sole leathers and glace kids. Apprentices were trained and demonstrations of improved processes were given in several exhibitions. In the Punjab, notwithstanding unfavourable economic conditions, the new Department of Industries made a promising start. As a tentative measure, six industrial surveyors have been appointed to travel constantly through the province and to keep the Director in touch with local industries. Instruction in the five weaving schools has at the same time been put on a more scientific basis. The number of factories has increased to 38, and the average number of employees in factories subject to the Factories Act has risen from 39,000 to 42,500.

Punjab.

In connection with the general popularization of Indian industries in other parts of the Empire, mention should be made of the British Industries Fair organized by the Department of Overseas Trade in 1921. The Governments of the United Provinces, the Punjab and Assam participated in the Fair, and the Indian Trade Commissioner, who supervised the arrangements, reports that the Indian stalls met with considerably greater success than was the case in the previous year. The articles exhibited were good, and in the main more generally suited for export and for sale in the United Kingdom than had been the case on the last occasion. Sales were effected and orders booked to a total value of about £4,000. In the next Fair held in London from the 27th February to the 10th March 1922, the Governments of Bombay, the United Provinces, the Punjab and Burma participated. The London Department of Overseas Trade is also organizing an Exhibition, which will most probably take place in 1924, to be known as the British Empire Exhibition.

Exhibitions.

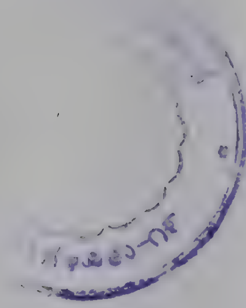
The primary object of this project is to promote the extension of Imperial trade by means of comprehensive exhibits of the industries, inventions, raw materials and products of the Empire. At two successive conferences of the Departments of Industries the verdict in favour of India's participation was unanimous. This was endorsed by the Local Governments, and subsequently by the Legislative Assembly.

Indian Agriculture.

For many years to come, the prosperity of India seems destined to rest upon agriculture rather than upon industries. Three persons out of every four in India gain their livelihood directly from the soil ; hence it is that the improvement of that livelihood constitutes the readiest way of regenerating the economic life of India. The world's progress has affected agricultur equally with other occupations, and unless the Indian agriculturist can be equipped with knowledge as well as capital for developing the resources at his disposal, it is difficult to see how he will in future support his share of the economic burden from which no nation on the road to self-government can escape. During recent years, an extraordinary change has taken place in the position which the Department of Agriculture occupies relative to the agricultural population. In many place

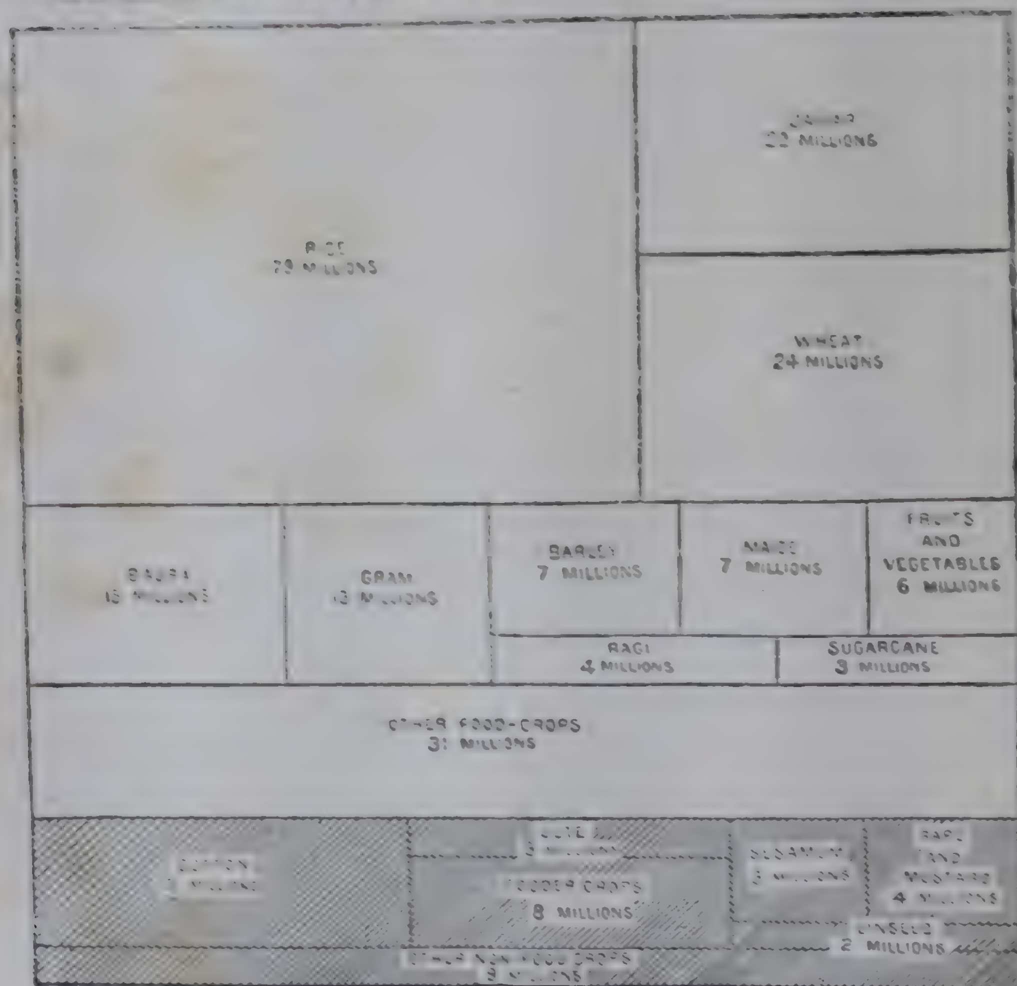
Progress and Conservatism.

the cultivator has already learnt to look on th expert as a friend and a guide, and his ol attitude of suspicion towards new methods i beginning to be substantially modified. When the success of ne methods can be quickly and plainly demonstrated, they spread wit remarkable rapidity. The so-called conservatism of the Indian culti vator is generally merely that of the sound practical farmer, who re quires good reasons for departing from well-established practice. Th economic influence of high prices, combined with the intensified deman resulting from the war, for higher production, has stimulated in grea degree the adoption of improved practice. On the other hand, th question of initial resources continues to be of importance. To th farmer possessing the necessary capital to supply irrigation water, plent of manure and efficient tillage implements, the question of the suit ability of crops to local conditions becomes a matter of little import ance. But to the Indian agriculturist possessing few of these adva tages, crop varieties are all-important, and the first and obvious ste in the improvement of his agriculture is to provide him with crop varieti suitable to existing conditions. He is already awakening in many plac to the fact that he is not extracting from his land all that it is capab of producing. Indeed the willingness of the agriculturist to learn ho



Total area sown in 1919-20.

Total area sown	255
Area under food crops (unshaded)	211
Area under non-food crops (shaded)	44



NOTE.—"Other food crops" are minor food grains, condiments and spices, and miscellaneous food crops.

"Other non-food crops" are oilseeds other than sesamum, linseed, rape and mustard; fibres other than cotton and jute; dyes; drugs and narcotics; and miscellaneous non-food crops.

to improve the quantity and quality of his crops is being held by those in a position to form a sound judgment of the matter as the dawn of an era of intensive cultivation. The major operations of the Agricultural Department naturally accord with these tendencies. They have been in the direction of the introduction of improved varieties of existing crops. The other side of the question, namely the improvement of soil and other local conditions, will be a matter of slower growth; since increased capital or at least extended credit, will have to be forthcoming for its fulfilment.

The Departments of Agriculture.

If only the Central and Provincial Departments of Agriculture can be expanded proportionately to the magnitude of the task before them, the future prosperity of India may be regarded as assured. Great areas of land, at present either wholly unutilized or insufficiently exploited, lie ready to yield, after the application of labour, manure and water, tons of valuable crops. Hitherto unfortunately, it has not been found possible to expend upon scientific agriculture that amount of money which India's necessities really require. The headquarters of the Imperial Department of Agriculture at Pusa are maintained at a cost of slightly more than £65,000; while the total expenditure of all the Provincial Departments amounted in 1920-21 to the comparatively small sum of £594,000. This works out at a total charge on the country of about one half-penny per acre per annum.

Their Work.

A brief note of the work accomplished by the Agricultural Department in dealing with particular crops will do more than many pages of argument to demonstrate its utility to the country. First in importance of all the grain crops in India is *rice*. Its yield is a vital factor in the country's welfare. Accordingly, to the selection of improved varieties and to the supply of suitable seed, the Agricultural Department devotes much of its attention. The demand for this improved seed now far outruns the supply; and in the four principal rice-growing provinces—Bengal, Burma, the Central Provinces and Madras—the areas under improved varieties are now not less than 46,000, 85,000, 77,000 and 6,000 acres respectively.

Rice.

This is no matter for surprise when it is observed that one of the departmental strains which has been planted in the Madras Presidency yields no less than 3,771 lbs. per acre, representing a net profit to the cultivator of nearly £23 per acre for the crop. Some of the departmental selections of Burma now yield per acre from eight to ten baskets of 51 pounds each more than

the best local varieties; while the Bengal varieties have been yielding 246 to 492 lbs. more per acre than the varieties they are replacing. If the rice crop can be improved throughout the country in something like this measure, it will enhance the prosperity of a larger proportion of the people of India than can be affected by the improvement of any other single crop, for it occupies a larger area and is used as a staple food by a greater percentage of the population of the country than any other stock. During the period under review, this crop in fact suffered a reduction from (a revised figure of) 79 million acres in 1919-20 to 78 million acres, while the yield of rice declined from 31·9 million tons to 28 million tons.

Wheat.

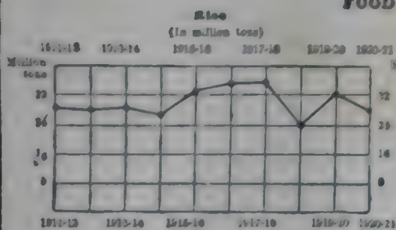
Next to rice in importance in the list of Indian crops stands *wheat*. During the year under review, the area under this crop fell from 29·9 million acres (revised figure) in 1919-20 to 25·7 million acres, the estimated total yield also declining from 10·1 million tons to 6·7 million tons. Indian wheat is as a rule of low quality and does not fetch good prices in the world's market. Accordingly, the work of the Agricultural Department upon this crop consists, first, in the evolution and distribution of strains possessing superior yielding power, better quality of grain, improved strength of straw and greater resistance to rust; and secondly in demonstrating the response of the crop to better cultivation. The improved varieties produced at Pusa have now been extended to all the wheat-growing provinces. In the United Provinces, the area under improved varieties, predominantly Pusa 4 and Pusa 12, has now reached a figure at which accurate estimates cannot be made by departmental agency. It cannot however fall far short of 400,000 acres, and each acre so cultivated gives the grower at a modest estimate an increased return of one pound sterling. Similarly in the Punjab, the improved varieties, Punjab 11, Punjab 8 and Pusa 12, occupy over 655,000 acres. In the Central Provinces, about 800,000 acres are now sown with the high-yielding varieties of wheat supplied by the Department.

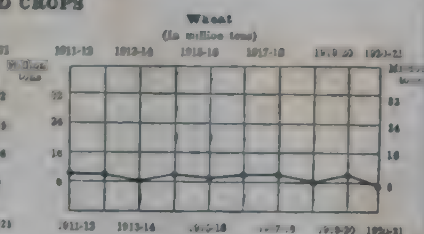
Sugar.

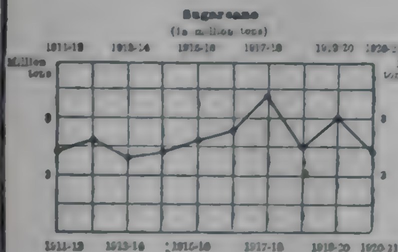
Among the food crops next in importance, mention must be made of *sugarcane*, upon the improvement of which the Department has expended much labour. During the period under review, the estimated area of this crop fell from 2·7 million acres in 1919-20 to 2·5 million acres, the estimated yield declining from 3 million tons to 2·5 million tons. As in the case of rice and wheat, the outturn was considerably affected by the poor monsoon. It should be noticed that sugar is the only agricultural product in India

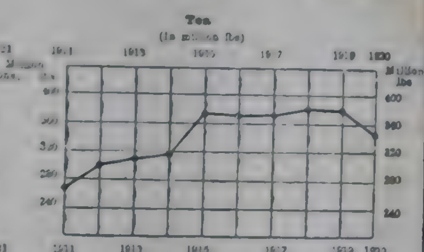
Yield of certain principal crops from 1911-12 to 1920-21.

FOOD CROPS

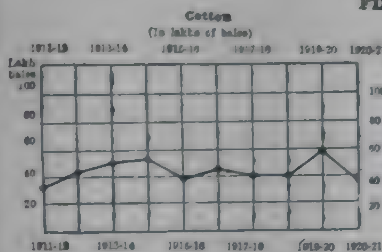


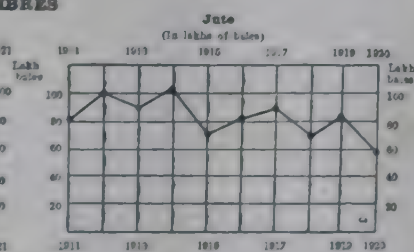




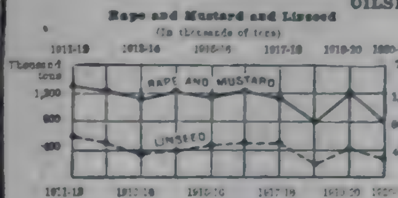


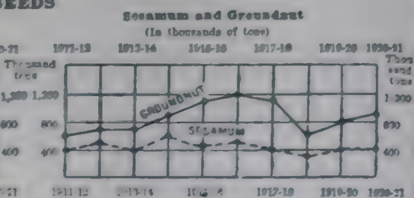
FIBRES



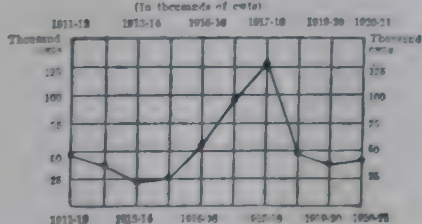


OILSEEDS





INDIGO (DYE)



in which the balance of trade lies decidedly against the country. Imports of foreign sugar amounted to 344,000 tons valued at £18·5 millions (Rupees 18·5 crores), as against 482,000 tons at £22·99 millions (Rupees 22·99 crores) in the preceding year. A noticeable feature was the import of just under 2,000 tons of beet sugar, which is the first consignment of any importance since the war. In view of the importance of the sugar crop to India, and the obvious desirability of the country supplying her own demand, there can be no two opinions as to the necessity of putting the Indian industry on a sound and satisfactory footing. During the year 1921 the report of the Indian Sugar Committee, to which reference was made in "India in 1920," was published. The Committee was concerned to advise whether a definite and co-ordinated line of policy could be laid down for the promotion of further development of the Indian industry. Among the principal recommendations of the Committee, now under the consideration of Government, are the establishment in India of a sugar school for the training of Indians; a sugar research institute; and a large demonstration factory. The report is most opportune in view of the fact that, while India has a larger area under sugar than any other country in the world—in fact nearly half the world's acreage,—none the less her normal output is but one-fourth of the total sugar supply. In order to assist private enterprise a Sugar Bureau has been established at Pusa with the object of furnishing advice to cultivators, manufacturers, and capitalists. The mass of valuable information regarding the industry which has been collected by the Bureau is now much sought after. The Bureau has also undertaken the publication, for the benefit of sugar firms in India, of statistical notes bearing on the production and consumption of sugar in different parts of the world and fluctuations in the world's price of sugar. One of the main features of the sugar work of the Agricultural Department has been the promising results attending the trials of the canes produced at the breeding station of Coimbatore in the Madras Presidency, whence improved varieties of seedling canes are evolved. Of the total sugarcane area in British India over half lies within the borders of the United Provinces. Here intensive cane cultivation has been most successful on land commanded by tube wells and pumping plants. Great possibilities for the improvement of cane cultivation will be afforded by the opening of the proposed Sarda Canal, of which mention will be made in a later page. This canal will irrigate a tract of soil which is especially suitable for cane cultivation. A future also awaits the introduction of power-driven machinery for crushing cane on a relatively small scale for the manufacture of sugar.

sugar. Some idea of the prospects awaiting the introduction of improved varieties of cane may be gathered from the fact that in the Central Provinces, one particular variety has given over a period of eight years an average outturn of 2,488 lbs. of rough sugar per acre more than the variety it has displaced. There are substantial indications that the older strains are losing favour with the cultivators; though in many places it would seem that the question of improved cultivation is of greater importance than the introduction of new breeds. Crude sugar manufactured on improved lines fetches from 6 shillings to 10 shillings more for every 500 pounds of produce than can be realised from older processes.

Cotton.

Of textile crops cotton is the most important. But while, India stands only second to America in the total world's production, her cotton is shorter in staple, poorer in spinning value and smaller in yield per acre. The work of the Agricultural Department therefore tends mainly to increasing the yield per acre and improving the quality of the produce. The scope which exists for this work may be gauged from the fact that during the year 1920-21 the acreage under cotton amounted to no less than 2[illegible] millions, although this was in point of fact a falling off of over 2 million acres from last year's figure. Both the restriction in the acreage and the fall in yield per acre of from 99 lbs. to 68 lbs. were due to the unfavourable nature of the season. In the case of cotton, considerations regarding the quality of the final product naturally operate in an overmastering degree, and the success of a selected variety often turns upon the possibility of obtaining a sufficient premium for the improved quality. In the most important cotton-growing province in India, which is Bombay Presidency, the increased value of cotton crops grown from the seed selected on the Surat farm is estimated at Rs. 5 lakhs (£50,000) during the year under review. The area under improved strains is now about 21,000 acres. Some idea of the general extent of the operations of the Agricultural Department in supplying seed may be gathered from the fact that in the Central Provinces, the second in the list of Indian cotton growing areas, 10,000 tons of cotton seed were distributed during the period under review. There the area under improved varieties rose from 0·3 million acres in 1919-20 to 0·36 million acres in 1920-2[illegible] In the Punjab, nearly half the total acreage of cotton is now of the American type introduced by the Agricultural Department. Improved varieties account for 0·52 million acres and ordinary country varieties for 0·64 million acres. The selected type known as '4 F

is worth to the cultivator at least £1 per acre more than the local kinds; and the increase in his profits represented by the rapid spread of the selection amounts in the aggregate to well over half a million sterling. In spite of the enormous area now occupied by American cotton in the Punjab, its introduction is a comparatively recent event; and it is only to be expected that the present type will in time be replaced by something better. Indeed, a new variety, 285 F, is giving more satisfactory results in certain localities. From what has already been stated as to the importance of the Indian cotton crop, it will readily be realised that there is ample opportunity for close co-operation between those who trade in this commodity and the Department of Agriculture. As was mentioned last year, the Indian Cotton Committee recommended the formation of a Central Cotton Committee to act as a connecting link between the Agricultural Department and the cotton trade, and to serve as an advisory body to Government on questions affecting cotton. This organisation has now come into existence, and it is hoped that in addition to discharging the activities suggested for it, it may be provided with funds to establish and conduct a technological laboratory in Bombay, and to subsidise research on cotton problems.

Jute.

The world's supply of jute fibre is obtained almost entirely from North Eastern India. So long as plentiful supplies of raw material exist at moderate prices, India enjoys a monopoly of production. During the period under review, glutted markets, combined with the high prices realised by food grains caused the area under jute to fall to 1·5 million acres from 2·5 million acres in 1920. The value of the export trade for these periods was £74 millions and £69 millions respectively. The work of the Agricultural Department in connection with jute consists mainly in the isolation of superior yielding strains from the common mixtures found in the field. One of the chief difficulties lies in seed production, which is usually not profitable in Bengal since the cultivators find that it pays better to cut the crop for fibre. A new field for seed growing seems to be opening in Madras, and in Western Bengal on lands too high for paddy. The Agricultural Department has also undertaken investigations into the manure requirements of jute, and has demonstrated that the presence of sufficient potash and lime in the soil is of vital importance, although these elements are of no practical value except when used in combination. During the year the demand for seed of the new and improved varieties recommended by the Department was greater than ever, and indeed could not be satisfied. For example in the Dacca division 410,000

lbs. of a given variety, sufficient for 40,000 acres was requested, but only ust over 65,000 lbs. were available.

Indigo.

The area under indigo rose from 0·235 million acres in 1919-20 to 0·238 million acres in 1920-21. The yield of dye rose from 38,000 cwts. to 40,000 cwts.; but exports fell to rather less than one-third of the previous year's figures. The work of the Agricultural Department in this crop has been directed towards increasing the quantity of indican contained in the plant and towards reducing the present losses in the manufacturing process. Very important investigations on the use of pure cultures of bacteria for the improvement of indigo manufacture are in progress; and the use of the new sterilising agent made in the Pusa laboratory has brought the possibility of using pure bacterial cultures within the region of practice. The present position of the indigo industry nevertheless remains uncertain, since the German dye has again come upon the market in considerable quantities. In order that the natural product should be in a position to meet competition from synthetic indigo, it is necessary not only that the yield per acre should be increased, but that the present loss in the manufacturing process should be reduced to a minimum.

Tobacco.

In striking contrast with the somewhat doubtful prospects of the indigo industry are those which seem to await the tobacco industry of India. With the recently imposed heavy duties on imported tobacco, the prospects for growing successfully the finer grades have improved considerably. That the field is a large one is apparent from the fact that during the period under review, cigarettes, etc., to the value of about £2·9 millions were imported into India. The demand for Pusa type 28, which combines yield and quality, and is suitable both for cigarette making and general cultivation, has increased more than four fold during the year. Seeds sufficient for about 50,000 acres were supplied to cultivators. The area under certain acclimatised varieties of Sumatra tobacco has also increased considerably.

Vegetable Oils, etc.

India's consumption of vegetable oils and oil cake constitutes a very large proportion of her total production. The quantity normally absorbed by foreign markets constitutes a useful surplus, which is drawn upon in bad years. During 1919-20, foreign prices were tempting, and exports were in consequence heavy. But during the year under review, the foreign demand decreased, and was entirely over-shadowed by imperative local needs.

The Agricultural Department endeavours to select the best varieties of seeds, and to introduce them in the districts for which they are found most suitable. In Bihar and Orissa, the selected varieties of ground nuts have been introduced on sandy land in the Gaya district, where the average yield of the acre treated with ashes has amounted to 1,804 lbs. as against exactly half that yield from untreated areas. In Madras, where the cocoanut crop is of great importance, extensive study has been made of the cocoanut palm. This is expected to throw light on the cause of the great variations between yields of different trees grown under apparently identical conditions. As typical of the direct practical advantages of intensive study of this kind, the fact may be mentioned that the local practice of planting cocoanuts in deep pits sunk well below ground level has been proved quite unnecessary. In Burma also the question of cocoanut planting has aroused considerable interest, and the local Department of Agriculture has taken up the subject.

Rubber, Coffee and Tea.

During the period under review, valuable work has been done in rubber, coffee and tea. A number of experiments directed to the study of manurial systems are being conducted on South Indian estates, as well as investigations into the diseases of the plants. A great advance has been made recently in the general use of green dressings on the rubber plantations. In coffee, good work has been done in Coorg with hybrids produced by the Agricultural Department, the seeds of which are now on the market and in great demand. One of these, "Jacksons hybrid," has proved its quality in the London market, a consignment securing top prices of Coorg coffee. Not only does it yield heavily, but it produces a bean of very high quality. In tea, as has elsewhere been mentioned, the prospects of the industry are for the moment gloomy owing to the glut of the home market. Until the disorganization caused by the war has been remedied, it seems doubtful whether the position will improve considerably. During the period under review the total area of tea was returned at 0·7 million acres as against 0·69 million acres in the preceding year, but the total estimated yield was lower, being 345 million lbs. as against 377 million lbs. in 1919-20. Lately, the Indian Tea Association has decided to restrict production in considerable degree. Work upon the crops by the Department of Agriculture continues. In Southern India there is a special Deputy Director of Agriculture for planting districts, who gives particular attention to tea. Demonstrations on the value of green manures, as a means of preventing wash and of increasing organic matter in the soil, from an important part of the work in progress.

As mentioned in last year's report, the fruit growing industry of India has a great field before it. Those who have hitherto devoted their attention to the improvement of Indian fruit have been too few and too scattered to permit of any considerable advance. But considering that the fruit industry, even under present conditions, yields a profit to those engaged in it, there is little doubt that a prosperous future awaits it. It has one considerable advantage in a country like India. A certain number of the educated classes, who do not take kindly to other species of farming, are quite willing to take up fruit growing as a profession. Efforts are constantly being directed towards the improvement of Indian fruit through careful selection of trees and proper tillage of the soil. In Bombay, an officer has been appointed to work solely on horticulture; in Madras, a pomological station has been founded at Coonoor. In the Punjab, efforts are being made to improve the date palms, about 6,000 suckers having been imported during the year from Mesopotamia, of which more than half were distributed to date growers. Endeavours are being made in many places to popularise the better varieties of fruit and to introduce improved methods both of cultivation and of packing. But a more thorough investigation of the economics of fruit growing must be undertaken before satisfactory advance is possible. The possibility of establishing a system of co-operative marketing such as that employed by the fruit growers in California has yet to be tested.

Fruit.

Crops grown purely for fodder form a very small proportion of the cattle food of the country, and mainly for this reason have not been subjected by the Agricultural Department to the same systematic treatment as staple crops. In this connection it should be remembered that an improvement in the yield of grain crops as a rule involves an increase in the straw as well as the grain, and thus indirectly increases the amount of available fodder. Problems connected with fodder raising and storing continue to receive attention, and work of great value has been performed in demonstrating the possibilities of new sources of supply. In Bombay, a distinct advance has been made on the methods previously followed in the preparation of prickly pear as emergency fodder. In the United Provinces, also, it has been definitely proved that the troublesome weed known as Baisurai, which seriously affects the yield of unirrigated crop on account of its deep roots, can be advantageously utilised as fodder. It is estimated that through the employment of this weed, a saving of 0·22 million tons of other fodder can be effected in the United Provinces

Fodder.

—a quantity considerably exceeding the total amount imported during the severest fodder famines of recent years.

Turning to the chemical work of the Agricultural Department, mention must be made of the continued study of soils in various parts of India. In Bihar and Orissa, in the Punjab, in the Central Provinces, in Bombay and in Madras, considerable progress has been made in this important branch of work. These surveys afford useful guides as to the type of manure which will give the best results. In the Central Provinces, moreover much attention has been paid to methods which will enable the soil to recover from the calls that high-yielding varieties of crop impose upon it ; while in Bombay work of a fundamental character on the method of maintaining a higher amount of water in the soil of dry areas, is now being undertaken.

Soil Surveys.

As was mentioned in last year's report, the study of pests, both vegetable and animal, is a matter of great importance to India. Diseases caused by parasites are numerous and destructive ; the damage done annually to rice, sugarcane and cotton, in particular, by insect pests being very serious. Continuous attention has been devoted by the Agricultural Department to remedying this state of affairs ; but shortage of staff, as in other branches of its activities, continues to retard progress. One great difficulty with which the Department is faced is the patient apathy of the cultivator, who believes in the majority of instances that pests and blights are manifestations of heaven's wrath. Energetic propaganda has to be undertaken before people can be persuaded of the possibility of controlling such visitations. Attention has also been devoted to the question of storing grain in such a manner as to protect it from damage and from the depredations of insects and rats. These latter constitute no inconsiderable burden upon India's food supplies. Experiments seem to show that the average rat consumes about 6 lbs. of grain in a year ; and as the total rat population of India is estimated at about 800 millions, the loss caused to the country by these animals must be something near £15 millions per annum.

Crop Pests.

A very important branch of the operations of the Agricultural Department lies in the sphere of Engineering, mainly connected with improvement of the water supply in existing irrigation wells through connecting them with

Agricultural Engineering.

sub-artesian supplies by means of pipes and bores. Work of this nature is of the greatest practical importance, and its successful development has in many provinces added not a little to the prestige of the local Agricultural Departments. During the year under review, work has been handicapped by the high prices of materials; but good progress has on the whole been made. For example in the Punjab the number of bores sunk in wells amounted to 392, of which no fewer than 326 were successful in increasing the supply of water, while 5 tube wells were in the course of construction during the year. In Bombay, 194 shallow borings were made, of which 131 were successful; Manfield's water finder having proved very serviceable in locating supplies in the area. In the United Provinces, unfortunately, the progress made in the construction of tube wells was disappointing, mainly owing to the fact that engineering material has risen enormously in price. None the less, the number of wells bored was 746, of which 513 are reported successful; while 131 sites for new wells were bored of which 64 per cent. produced the desired result. In Madras, the work relating to pumping and well boring was transferred to the Department of Industries during the year, and the main work of the Agricultural Engineer in this province will henceforth lie in the adapting of modern agricultural machinery and implements to local conditions, and the improvement of indigenous machines. In Burma, the work of the Agricultural Engineer has up to now been practically devoted to buildings rather than to agricultural engineering proper. Several important problems, such as tests of sugarcane crushers and furnaces, cost and efficiency of pumping installations, and improvements in indigenous farming implements, are awaiting solution. In several of the Indian States, also, agricultural engineering is making considerable progress. In Gwalior the Agricultural Department has been successful in conducting several important lines of work. In Mysore, alterations have been made in the new model plough to meet the needs of cultivators; while an American drill has been modified to adapt it to local requirements. In Baroda, there was a considerable demand for well borings; and out of 105 bores sunk, 76 were successful. Useful work was also done in the installation of engines and pumps, for which the State advanced nearly £10,000 to 19 applicants.

Cattle.

Among the most important conditions of the success of Indian agriculture may be mentioned the improvement in the cattle population. The bullock is still the principal motive power for cultivation; indeed the total number of live

Total livestock, divided between bovine, ovine, and others in 1919-20, as compared with the year 1910-11.

1910-11



1919-20



NOTE.—"Bovine" includes bulls and bullocks, cows, buffaloes, calves, and buffalo calves.
"Ovine" includes sheep and goats.
"Others" include horses and ponies, mules, donkeys, and camels.

stock of the Bovine class in India is no less than 146 millions. According to the 1919-20 cattle census, the number of cattle per 100 acres of sown area ranges from 101 in Bengal to 30 in Bombay ; while the number per 100 of population varies from 86 in the Manpur Pargana to 33 in Delhi. The average for British India as a whole, is 66 cattle per 100 acres of sown area and 61 cattle per 100 of the population. Very considerable numbers of these cattle are maintained at a loss, owing to their unfitness either for labour or for supplying milk. But the problem cannot be tackled upon the same lines as would be possible in Western countries, for the reason that veneration for the cow is universal throughout the larger proportion of the population in India. It is thus impossible to treat the question as one of pure economics ; if only because popular sentiment will not agree to the elimination of the unfit and wasteful members of the cattle population. The amelioration of the position depends first upon improving the breed of cattle, and secondly upon its preservation both from disease and from famine. Increased breeding in the arable areas is now an imperative necessity, owing to the rise in the price of working cattle. There is however a great lack in many places of stock bulls ; while the drain of the best milk cattle into the towns and their consequent loss for breeding purposes has ruined the milk breeds of the country districts. At Pusa, cattle breeding has been directed mainly along two lines ; the grading up of a country milk breed ; and experiments in cross breeding with imported cattle of high milking pedigree, the primary object of the latter being to obtain reliable information regarding the inheritance of the observable characters of both breeds. In the various provincial agricultural departments, also, considerable work is being done in the provision of stock bulls, and in the general maintenance and improvement of the chief local breeds. Progress continues however to be slow, largely on account of the magnitude of the terms in which the problem is stated. Simultaneously with the work in improvement of the breed, comes the preservation of cattle from famine and epidemics. Plainly, it is just as important to keep the existing cattle alive through periods of famine as it is to maintain and improve the breeds. Mention has already been made of the steps taken by the Agricultural Department to increase the fodder supply, and to make it readily available for the strain placed upon it by outbreaks of sudden scarcity. There can be little doubt that a considerable proportion of India's cattle population is under-fed, and that one way of increasing the percentage of useful individuals is

to popularise those forms of fodder which at the present moment are neglected because unknown. The preservation of Indian cattle from contagious diseases presents certain difficulties peculiar to the country. It is necessary not merely to fight against the natural sources of infection, which are numerous, but also against ignorance, old-established custom, and prejudices on the part of the people themselves. Cattle owners, when disease is prevalent in a village, often remove their cattle to another locality ; and it is a long time before they can be made to realise that such movements of cattle are the means of spreading disease. Until the cattle owners themselves understand the importance of early information and segregation in the suppression of these periodical outbreaks, disease must remain a source of loss to them and a danger to agricultural interests in general. During 1920-21, there were 574 veterinary hospitals and dispensaries at work in India and the cases treated and operations performed at these institutions number over 1 million. The Imperial Bacteriological Laboratory at Muktesar, which supplies the munitions of the campaign against contagious cattle diseases, issued more than 2·5 million doses of different sera to the provincial Veterinary Departments. Among inoculated cattle the percentage of deaths was only 0·4 per cent. The maximum output of Muktesar, even when the full effects of the recent reorganisation have been realised, will not long be sufficient to cope with the growing popularity of its products ; and the question of starting a similar laboratory in South India is under consideration.

The need for supplementing the cattle-power of the country has been felt for some time back, and has begun to strike these cultivators who have grasped the significance of improved tillage in the scheme of general agricultural improvement. Such crops as sugarcane depend on a more extensive tillage just as much as on increased supplies of manure and water. Accordingly, as a result of advertisements by several firms and demonstrations held in several places, much interest has of late been evinced in agricultural motor tractors. Several large landowners have bought tractors and are trying them on their estates, while the various Agricultural Departments are also engaged in experimenting with different types. But in India the scope of tractor cultivation appears to be limited, since the most valuable of irrigated lands are not quite suitable for tractor cultivation, and the sizes of the fields are rather too small for the purpose. Nevertheless tractor ploughing is likely to prove advantageous in areas where large stretches of land have gone out of cultivation.

Propaganda.

It is obvious that to a very large extent the utility of the work of the Agricultural Department depends upon the effective diffusion of a knowledge of improved materials and improved processes among the population of India. Since the large majority of Indian cultivators are illiterate, the methods of conveying information which are in vogue throughout more advanced countries, such as leaflets, circulars and lectures, cannot be relied upon to produce the desired effect. Wherever possible, ocular demonstrations are given ; and for this purpose, Government seed and demonstration farms, implement depôts, and the like are employed. But the most convenient means of assuring agriculturists that suggested improvements can be carried out by themselves, is the employment of small plots in their own fields for demonstration purposes. The whole question of demonstration therefore really resolves itself into the provision of an adequate and properly trained staff organised on lines dictated by experience. In Bombay, for example, agricultural associations—of which there are 68 in the presidency—and a large number of co-operative unions have been found particularly useful. A big success was secured in the extension of the area under improved cotton in Surat district, where the premium on the crop grown in the few thousand acres under the supervision of the department was about £15,000. In Madras also, the agency of co-operative societies was found generally useful in effecting improvements in the lands of the cultivator. In Bengal, public interest in agricultural matters shows a considerable increase ; district boards are now supplementing the staff of the Agricultural Department by officers of their own, and they are also offering grants for the establishment of farms. In this connection it is interesting to notice that three prominent landholders have opened seed and demonstration farms on their own estates. Considerable progress has also been made in the formation of village agricultural associations, which are serving as useful links between the departmental officers and the cultivators. In Bihar and Orissa, also, co-operative societies have been proved most valuable for propaganda purposes. In the United Provinces, the success achieved by propaganda work is demonstrated by the fact that the total amount of seed distributed during the year amounted to 2,000 tons, the largest figure on record. The number of private seed farms is rapidly increasing. These fulfil very useful functions, and assist the Agricultural Department in many ways, notably in demonstration work and in the production of seed. In the Punjab, demonstration work has been supplemented by the opening of demon-

stration farms both by the Co-operative department and by private individuals. The supply of seed of improved varieties is already a self-supporting organisation, 700 tons of wheat and 1,800 tons of cotton seed having been purchased and sold during the year. In the Central Provinces, the Agricultural Department distributed 430 tons of wheat seed, 10,000 tons of cotton seed, 110 tons of paddy and more than 1·5 million sets of sugarcane. Improved implements to the value of £6,000 were sold to cultivators during the year. In Assam, the demand for seeds of superior varieties of sugarcane was so great that the department was unable to meet it in full. The State departments of Agriculture in the various Indian States continued their commendable activities. In particular, the well organised work of the Gwalior and Mysore Agricultural Departments in the introduction of improved implements, seeds and manures, produced excellent results. In Baroda, the State department distributed a very large quantity of improved cotton seed in co-operation with the Bombay Department of Agriculture. In Travancore, seed unions did excellent work during the year, while the more economical transplantation of rice has now become common practice. In Hyderabad State, the main feature of work was the distribution of pure seed of long staple cotton; while in Kashmir, demonstrations with chain harrows on cultivators' fields produced good results.

In connection with the steps taken to improve Indian agriculture, an important place must be assigned to the irrigation system. Of these a brief outline will be given in the succeeding paragraphs.

Irrigation.

In the tropics cultivation can be, and in many cases is, effected by natural rainfall only, but there are many parts in which the artificial watering of some portion at least of the crops is essential. Every season the rainfall in some parts of India is insufficient to mature the crops; while in other parts of India the rainfall, which in a normal year may be sufficient, is liable to uneven distribution throughout the season, or to such serious deficiency as to render the tract concerned famine-striken in the absence of artificial protection. The Indian Irrigation Commission, which sat from 1901 to 1903, recorded that between the area in which the annual rainfall is invariably sufficient, and that in which it is so scanty that no agriculture at all is possible without an irrigation system, there lies a tract of nearly a million square miles which, in the absence of irrigation, cannot be deemed secure against the uncertainty of the seasons and the scourge of famine.

There are various methods by which irrigation is accomplished in India. A very large area is irrigated by the cultivators themselves without assistance from Government, by the use of such means as wells, tanks, and temporary obstructions to divert water from streams on to the fields. Almost every known system of raising water from wells is found in India, ranging from the primitive plan of hand-lifting to the modern device of power pumping, which thanks to the efforts of Government Agricultural Engineers, is gradually growing more common. Government irrigation works comprise both tanks and canals, the former being mainly small works which derive their importance from their vast numbers. For example, in Madras alone there are nearly 50,000 such tanks, irrigating between 2½ and 3 million acres. Turning now to canals, we may notice that they are divided into two classes; those drawing their supplies from perennial rivers and those which depend upon water stored in artificial reservoirs. The former are mainly found in connection with rivers which rise in the Himalayas, the snow upon which acts as an inexhaustible reservoir during the dry months of the year; the latter are naturally associated with rivers rising in the peninsula proper, where no such natural storage is available. These storage works are situated mainly in the Deccan, the Central Provinces and in Bundelkhand, ranging in size from earthen embankments to enormous dams such as those now under construction in the Deccan, capable of impounding over 20,000 million cubic feet of water. Canals which draw their supplies from perennial rivers may again be sub-divided into perennial and inundation canals. The former are provided with headworks which enable water to be drawn from the river irrespective of its natural level; some obstruction being placed in the bed of the river that the water may reach the height required to secure admission to the canal. Within this class fall the great perennial systems of the Punjab and the United Provinces. Inundation canals have no such means of control, and water can only be admitted to them when the natural level of the river reaches the necessary height. The most important inundation canals in India are those of Sind; indeed the whole of the irrigation of that province is of this nature. They also exist in the Punjab, drawing their supplies from the Indus and its tributaries.

Methods.

Prior to the 1st April 1921 the Government irrigation works were classified under three heads for the purpose of allotment of funds; namely, productive, pro-

Classification of Works.

tective, and minor works. Of these only productive works could, under the rules in force up to that date, be financed from loan funds. Before a work can be classed as productive it has to satisfy the condition that it should, within ten years of the completion of construction, produce sufficient revenue to cover its working expenses and the interest charges on its capital cost. Protective works are those which are constructed primarily with a view to the protection of precarious tracts and to guard against the necessity for periodical expenditure on the relief of the population in times of famine: they were financed from the current revenues of India, generally from the annual grant for famine relief and insurance, and are usually not directly remunerative. Minor works comprised those which were not classed as productive or protective. They included a few small works built by the British Government, but the majority were indigenous works which Government had taken over, improved and maintained. They included many of the great inundation canals which draw their supplies from the Indus and its tributaries in the Punjab and Sind, a number of old irrigation works and flood protection embankments in Burma, many small tanks, storage reservoirs and canals or groups of canals scattered throughout the country, and lastly and collectively the most important, some 47,000 minor tanks and petty irrigation works in the Madras Presidency.

With the introduction of the Reforms the classification of irrigation works has been altered; as it will, in future, be possible to finance any work of public utility from loan funds. The classes of protective and minor works have been abolished; all works being classified as either productive or unproductive without reference to the source whence the funds for their construction are provided. In the case of old works constructed before the establishment of British rule, it has been decided that the amount expended upon them by the British Government shall be regarded as the capital charge. Another important change has been effected, in that irrigation is now a provincial reserved subject. Enhanced financial powers were therefore delegated to the local Governments in order to give them a much freer hand than they had previously possessed in respect of all but the most important projects. Only those estimated to cost over Rs. 50 lakhs now come before the Government of India for submission to the Secretary of State with their recommendations.

Irrigation under the Reforms.

During the year 1920-21, the total area irrigated by all classes of works in India excluding the Indian States, amounted to just over 27 million acres which is 13·7 per cent. of the entire cropped area of 197½ million acres. Although larger than the area irrigated in any other previous year, the figure is a million less than the record area of 28 million acres irrigated during the year 1919-20. The decrease is mainly due to the unfavourable nature of the monsoon of 1920. The total length of main and branch canals and distributaries from which this irrigation was effected amounted to 66,754 miles. The estimated value of the crops irrigated by Government works amounted to £156·4 millions or double the total capital expenditure on the works.

Irrigation in 1920-21.

Towards the total area irrigated, the productive works contributed 18¼ million acres, the protective works 798,000 acres and the minor works nearly 8 million acres. The area irrigated by productive works was greatest in the Punjab. The average in this province during the triennium 1915-18 was nearly 7¾ million acres and during 1920-21 it was over 8¾ million acres. Next came the Madras Presidency with an area of 3½ million acres, followed by the United Provinces with 3 million acres, and Sind, where the area so irrigated amounted to over 1 million acres. The total capital outlay to the end of the year 1920-21 on productive irrigation works, including works under construction, amounted to £58·9 millions, the gross revenue to £8·1 millions and the working expenses to £2·8 millions. The net return on capital outlay was therefore 9 per cent. The total capital outlay on protective works amounted to £11·7 millions, but of this a large proportion has been incurred on works under construction, which have not yet commenced to earn revenue.

In the course of the report for 1920, three great projects were briefly described, namely, the Sarda Kichha and Sarda Canal; the Sukkur Barrage and Canals in Sind; and the Sutlej Valley Canals in the Punjab. In view of their importance to the prosperity of large tracts of country the development of these schemes during the year now under survey must be outlined.

Sarda Kichha and Sarda Canals.

Certain alterations have been made in the Sarda Kichha Feeder project. The circumstances in which this project was prepared rendered it not only probable but certain that very considerable changes in the projected alignment would be necessary before the work of construction could be taken in hand. The original proposal for

utilizing the water of the Sarda contemplated the diversion of the Sarda water into the Ganges river above Narora at the headworks of the Lower Ganges Canal, thereby giving a large additional supply to the Ganges and Agra Canal systems. That project provided also for a separate feeder from the Ganges Canal to supplement the supplies of the Eastern and Western Jumna Canals. The principal item was a great feeder canal from the Sarda to the Ganges, which would have traversed at right angles the whole of the drainage of the submontane tract between the two rivers. This scheme, which was known as the Sarda Ganges Jumna Feeder project, was abandoned in favour of a canal which would provide irrigation for the north-western districts of Oudh, with only a comparatively small branch running westwards across the Tarai for the irrigation of Rohilkhand, which would be known as the Sarda Kichha Feeder. It was considered advisable, in order to avoid delay in the commencement of work, to prepare a project for this branch in advance of that for the whole Oudh scheme. The Sarda Kichha Feeder project received the sanction of the Secretary of State in December 1919. It was designed to take up the irrigation which was, under the earlier proposals, to have been effected by the first forty miles of the Sarda Ganges Feeder. No further surveys were therefore executed, the alignment decided upon for the Sarda Ganges Feeder being accepted as suitable for the Sarda Kichha Feeder also; but it was definitely foreseen at the time that it would probably be possible to find a more economical line. This has proved to be the case; it is now proposed, by utilizing certain of the natural drainage channels in the tract for the transportation of the supplies, to carry the whole volume of water further to the south, thus avoiding the malaria-ridden portion of the Tarai through which the original alignment ran. Great economy has been effected thereby and it is now believed that it will be possible to complete the work within the amount estimated when the project was framed in 1914, in spite of the great increase in rates which has taken place since that time. The saving is expected further to cover the cost of substituting a barrage for a solid weir at the head of the canal. These modifications of the original scheme were, on the advice of the Inspector General of Irrigation, formally approved by the Government of India in January 1922.

The Sarda Oudh Canal takes off at the seventh mile of the Sarda Kichha Feeder and runs in a south-easterly direction. The Sarda canal project consists of a main canal with a length of 17½ miles, after which it divides into three branches. From these branches a network

of distributaries covers the watershed as far as the eastern boundaries of the Rae Bareli and Bara Banki districts. The project comprises 478 miles of main canal and branches, 3,370 miles of distributaries and 100 miles of escapes or 3,948 miles of channels in all. The canal will irrigate 1,368,000 acres and produce a return of 7¼ per cent. on the capital cost which is estimated at £7½ million. The sanction of the Secretary of State to this project was accorded in February 1921.

Sukkur Barrage and Canals Project.

The Sukkur Barrage project in Sind, which is the greatest irrigation scheme under consideration at the present time, was approved by the Secretary of State in June 1921 in so far as its administrative and technical aspects are concerned, and the commencement of construction awaits only the making of adequate arrangements for financing the project. The object of the scheme is to give an assured supply to and extend, the irrigation now effected by the numerous inundation canals in Sind which draw their water from the Indus. This will be achieved by the construction of a barrage across the Indus, nearly a mile long between abutments—by far the biggest work of its kind yet built. From above the barrage seven canals will take off, irrigating over 5 million acres, of which 2 million comprise existing inundation irrigation to which an assured supply will be given, while the remainder is at present almost entirely uncultivated. The cost of the scheme will be about £18 millions.

Sutlej Valley Canals.

There are, on either bank of the Sutlej, in British territory on the north and in Bahawalpur on the south, long series of inundation canals, which draw their supply from the river whenever the water level is high enough to permit of it. These canals are liable to all the drawbacks which invariably attend inundation irrigation. There are no weirs at their heads and, in many cases, there is no means of controlling the volumes entering them ; consequently, while a supply is assured in a normal year during the monsoon months, it is liable to serious fluctuations according to the seasonal conditions. In a year of inferior rainfall little water enters the canals ; in a year of high supplies they are liable to grave damage by floods.

The Sutlej Valley Project will effect three objects. Firstly, it will afford the existing canals an assured and controlled supply from April to October. Secondly, it will enable their scope to be extended so as to embrace the whole low-lying area in the river valley. Thirdly, it will afford perennial irrigation to the uplands on both banks which are at present entirely unirrigated and, owing to the low rainfall, waste.

The project consists of four weirs, three on the Sutlej and one on the combined Sutlej and Chenab, with twelve canals taking off from above them. This multiplicity of canals and weirs may seem, at first sight, a peculiar feature of the scheme, until it is realized that the project really consists of four interconnected systems, each of the first magnitude. The canals are designed to utilize 48,500 cubic feet of water a second during the monsoon and 7,000 cubic feet a second during the cold weather. Over 5 million acres will be irrigated of which 2 million acres will be in the Punjab, 2,800,000 acres in Bahawalpur and 350,000 acres in Bikaner. As a result, $3\frac{3}{4}$ million acres of desert waste will become available for colonization.

The project was submitted to the Secretary of State in March 1921, but before according his sanction to it he requested that the estimates of returns should be revised on the basis of the higher borrowing rate now prevailing and that the Punjab Government should be asked to present the scheme to the local Legislative Council for its approval. He further called for assurances as to the ability of the Punjab Government and of the Bahawalpur and Bikaner States to provide funds for the execution of their respective portions of the project. In November 1921, the Local Government reported that the Punjab Legislative Council had unanimously approved of the project and had agreed to the provision by loan of funds as required for the construction of the British portion of the scheme. The Bikaner and Bahawalpur Durbars had also been able to satisfy the Punjab Government that they could finance their portions of the scheme from funds at their disposal and from the proceeds of the sales of land. The Government of India accepted these assurances and asked for the sanction of the Secretary of State to the immediate commencement of work upon the project, which was accorded on the 9th December 1921.

Future Programme.

The Cauvery reservoir project in Madras and three great irrigation schemes in the Punjab, which were referred to in report for last year have not progressed beyond the stage of examination. Every province has several schemes under investigation which are not yet ripe for sanction, but, taking into consideration only those schemes which are likely to be constructed within a reasonable time, an addition of over 6 million acres to the area irrigated is anticipated from them.

The record area irrigated by Government irrigation works wa attained in 1919-20 when $28\frac{1}{2}$ million acres were irrigated. By the tim



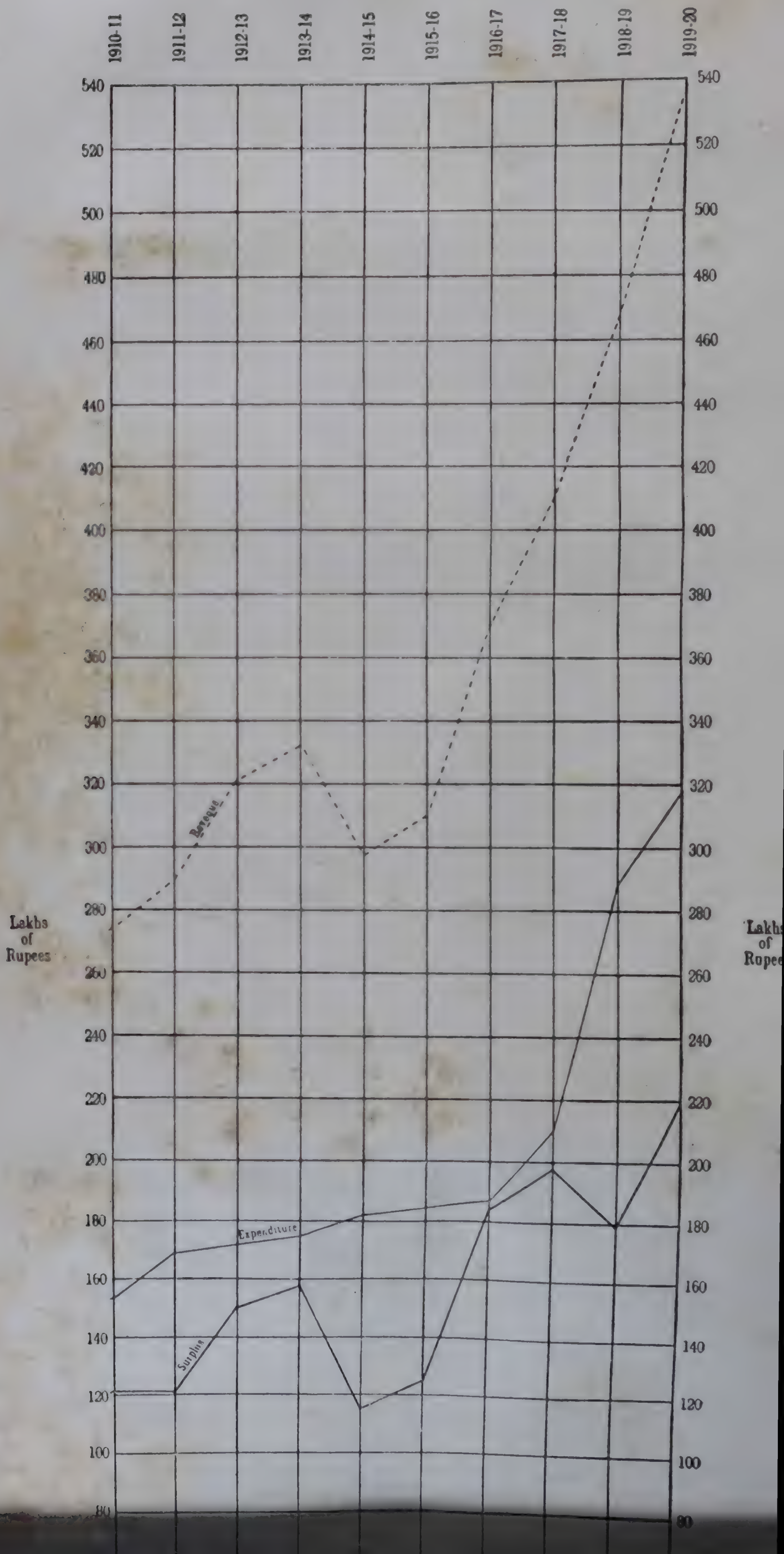


DIAGRAM SHOWING
ANNUAL FOREST REVENUE, EXPENDITURE & SURPLUS
FOR THE 10 YEARS 1910-11 TO 1919-20
1910-11
1911-12
1912-13
1913-14
1914-15
1915-16
1916-17
1917-18
1918-19
1919-20
540
520
500
480
460
440
420
400
380
360
340
320
300
280
260
240
220
200
180
160
140
120
100
80
Lakhs of Rupees
Revenue
Expenditure
Surplus

the projects now under construction are in full working order, and assuming that the Sukkur Barrage is also built, a total of 40 million acres is confidently anticipated. Allowing for the most promising projects now under consideration and for the natural expansion of existing schemes an ultimate area of 50 million acres is by no means impossible.

It will be apparent from the preceding paragraphs that the Indian irrigation system is very highly developed. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of certain other activities designed for the development of natural resources. Among those forms of latent wealth which would unquestionably yield excellent results to intensified exploitation, Forests and Fisheries may be specially selected.

Forests.

Already, despite shortage of staff and hampered development due to financial restrictions, Indian forests yield a considerable revenue to the State. In the year 1919-20 the surplus of revenue over expenditure of the Indian forests amounted to £2·2 millions. Of the total forest area in India, which covers more than a quarter of a million square miles, only 60,670 square miles has been brought under regular scientific management prescribed by working plans.

Cadre of Forest Service.

The increased demand for timber and other forest products brought about by war conditions has undoubtedly greatly stimulated forest development in the Indian Empire. Local Governments may now be considered to have completed in the main the re-organization of staff necessary for developments in the immediate future. The sanctioned strength of the Imperial branch of the Forest Service has been raised to 398, of which number 352 are henceforth to be directly recruited, and the balance obtained by promotion from the Provincial Service. During the year 1921, 22 probationers, out of a total of 56, were Indians. But at the end of the year the shortage of directly recruited officers amounted to 119, while 86 probationers were under training in England. Circles and divisional charges have of course to be sub-divided, if forest development is to proceed upon an orderly plan; but it is also necessary to provide special posts for utilization and for research work, as well as to augment largely the staff of the Central Research Institute. A very important advance in the former sphere of development is marked by the arrival in India, during the present year, of the recruits for the Engineering Branch of the Forest Service, who have now concluded their training in America and in Europe. Two Consulting Forest Engineers, employed on a temporary

Forest Engineering.

basis, have continued to investigate projects and to draw up schemes. Much valuable work has been accomplished, but it is to be feared that financial straits and the lack of any system for providing funds for considerable capital expenditure, howsoever heavy the returns may be, will entail delay in the execution of these plans. How much remains to be done from the point of view of exploitation is indicated by the fact that the outturn of timber and firewood from all sources amounted in 1919-20 to just under 340 million cubic feet, which represents only about 2 cubic feet per acre from all classes of forests. This yield is far less than the forests of the country are capable of providing under more intensive systems of development and by the aid of more up-to-date methods of extraction than exist at present.

Certain progress has none the less been made in establishing and consolidating definite relations with the commercial world. The possibilities of utilising bamboos for paper pulp are now fairly established, and the number of firms to whom grants of concessions have been made for this purpose has increased. A considerable part of the extensive forest areas of bamboo and Savannah grass could no doubt be utilized for the manufacture of paper and paste board now imported. In the same way, large private concerns are now undertaking the extraction of timber, the manufacture of ply wood and the like, on long-term leases. But India, with her quarter million square miles of forests, still imports wood and articles made of wood. Much is however hoped from the introduction to new markets of Indian timbers hitherto little known. This cannot fail to be of advantage to the consumer in other parts of the world, and for the development of the forest industry. And in this connection it may be noticed that the London agency for the sale of Indian and Burma timbers, which has recently been started effected sales to the extent of £73,000 during the year, on account of the Government of India and local Governments.

Minor Industries.

Minor forest industries are also of growing importance. In the United Provinces, the output of resin was considerably reduced during the year under review by an unparalleled outbreak of incendiarism which has caused vast damage to the Kumaon forests. Fortunately, there are heavy stocks of crude resin still in hand, and the year's outturn of the manufactured product will probably show little decrease. Mention was made in last year's report of the satisfactory progress of this industry and of the possibility of its extension to a point at which it will be in a position

to meet not merely the whole of the country's requirements, but, in addition, those of other Eastern countries. It may be noticed that the policy of the United Provinces Government regarding the utilization circle, includes the maintenance of model institutions employing the most up-to-date machinery and imparting instruction in the latest methods of work, with a view to facilitating and developing both the resin industry already mentioned as well as wood working in general. The investigation of numerous forest products and by-products presents a wide field for future development. For the United Provinces, the revised forest budget of 1921-22 shows a surplus of nearly £300,000 (Rs. 30 lakhs). The afforestation of denuded ravine lands, mentioned in last year's report, is steadily proceeding; and in the period under review, some 2,000 acres of new plantation was laid down. The cost of afforestation is borne by Government and is recouped from the revenue receipts, the profits being afterwards paid to the owners of the soil. The results achieved are very successful. Erosion is arrested, good crops of grass obtained, and tree growth is established. In Madras the prospects before successful development are very great. The Consulting Forest Engineer to the Government of India who was deputed to enquire into the exploitation of the Madras Forests, reports that they represent a vast accumulation of wealth, the development of which can be made self-supporting.

Difficulties.

Unfortunately, the national aspect of forestry is hardly, or not at all, realized in India. Much work still remains to be done in educating the public to an appreciation of the value of India's forests as a commercial asset. At present the lessons taught by the war in other countries are still not appreciated by Indians generally; and there is some reason to apprehend that the Forest Department may soon find itself in conflict with politics, the protection of the interests of future generations being subordinated to the expediency of satisfying immediate popular clamour. If this should unfortunately prove to be the case, the position built up by India as the pioneer of forestry among the Dominions and the Colonies is likely to be lost. In order to obtain some notion of the special difficulties which beset the working of India's forests, mention may be made of the conditions which obtain on the Madras Presidency. Here the village ryot finds it difficult to understand the value of postponing immediate advantage to future benefit, and the forest restrictions therefore appear to him unnecessarily irksome. The sense of grievance has been exploited by agitators for their own purposes, and the attention of

Government has in consequence been specially devoted to endeavours to differentiate between real and fictitious grounds of complaint. Consideration has in particular been given to the re-organisation of forest committees, which under effective supervision should prove a valuable agency for the control of grazing areas and reserves utilized primarily to meet other village requirements. It is hoped by this means to eliminate some at least of the existing friction between the ryot and the Forest Department.

Side by side with commercial exploitation and the improvement of forest conditions, must go research into forest economics and the investigation of the problems of reproduction and protection of forest crops. The Indian Industrial Commission, to which reference has already several times been made in the course of this report, laid stress upon the necessity for expert investigation into these and cognate problems on a more extensive scale than has hitherto been possible. The Commission considered that the Forest Research Institute of Dehra Dun did not possess equipment sufficient to meet the calls upon it, accordingly a general scheme for the enlargement of the Research Institute and of the scope of its activities was sanctioned. During the period under review, progress has been made in the development of the Institute, but little or no advance has been possible in the construction of new buildings. The activities of research continue to expand, and for this purpose additional officers have been appointed, including specialists in wood technology, timber seasoning and testing, wood working, pulp and paper making, tan stuffs and destructive entomology. Up-to-date machinery and plant is moreover being obtained from America and Great Britain. But, unfortunately, the lack of money is already making itself felt, and as a consequence progress in the investigations which will lead to the fuller and better utilization of the raw products produced by Indian forests is retarded.

Research.

In her fisheries also India possesses considerable national wealth to which attention has only recently been directed. The report of the Indian Industrial Commission gave striking evidence of the future which awaits more active development of this sphere. In many parts of India the quantity of fish consumed in cities and in towns, within reasonable distance of the coast, is considerable. Particularly in Bengal, where fish forms the staple food of a large proportion of the population, the importance of the trade is very great. During the year 1920-21, more than 13,000

Fisheries.

tons of fish were imported into Calcutta alone from places of catchment. To meet a steadily increasing demand, continuous and ruthless fishing is carried on throughout the year, while even spawn and fry are not spared. In consequence of this the fisheries are getting very seriously depleted. There is every reason to believe that unless some sort of legislation is introduced for the enforcement of a close season and the prohibition of the sale of fry, the local fisheries of Bengal will very soon be reduced to a most parlous condition. The first necessity of the situation is the spread of sound ideas among the fishermen, who are at present of low caste, ignorant and uneducated. They have a meagre standard of comfort and are mercilessly exploited by middlemen whose exactions lessen the supply of fish and add greatly to its cost. The Bengal Department of Fisheries, which is now separate from that of Bihar and Orissa, is being placed upon a permanent footing, and useful work is being done not only in the sphere of propaganda, but also in the awakening of popular interest to the importance of the whole subject. Very useful work was done by District Fishery officers. Besides making a detailed survey of the fisheries in their respective jurisdictions, they spent a good deal of their time among the fishing population of their district, in order to familiarize themselves with local conditions. The most effective way of improving the condition of the fishermen has been found to lie in introducing education among them and organizing co-operative societies. Special schools have been established for teaching the children of fishermen, and fishermen's co-operative societies are increasing in numbers. In Madras, where the Department of Fisheries has been long established, considerable success has been attained in several useful lines of activity. The superior staff include a Director with three Assistant Directors, one in charge of the marine section concerned with sea fishes; another in charge of the inland section, dealing with fresh water fish, including the breeding and distribution of the larvicidal fish used in anti-malarial operations; and the third in charge of the coast section, dealing with fish after it has been landed. There is also a marine biologist who is concerned with the identification of marine fauna and the supply of marine zoological specimens to educational institutions and museums. During the year under review, the industrial section suffered from exceptionally unfavourable conditions. The catches of sardines on the west coast were a failure; the scarcity was so great that out of 646 private sardine and guano factories, more than

Bengal.

Madras.

300 did no work whatever. To add to the difficulties, the price of tinplate rose to extravagant heights, which proved a serious handicap, as it involved an increase in the rates charged for canned goods. In curing operations, the year proved far worse than its predecessor, and had it not been for mackerel, the operations would have been trivial. But as it was, nearly one hundred thousand pounds of fish were purchased for curing, and the improved cures found a wide market. On the other hand, the year's operations in oyster supply were most satisfactory, the number sold totalling 167,000, as against 133,000 in 1919-20. Much useful work has been done in improving the standard of education and the methods of livelihood of the fishing community. Eleven new co-operative societies for maritime fishermen have been established during the period under review, and taking into consideration the inexperience and illiteracy of the great majority of the members, the movement has spread in a most satisfactory manner. Research work has been successful in providing a "fish meal" poultry food, and a cheap sardine oil equal in medical value to codliver oil. Inland pisciculture is progressing favourably and a large number of fresh tanks have been taken over by the Department. Interesting developments in deep sea fishing may be expected from the recently introduced Danish Seine net, which is both cheap and efficient, and particularly adapted to the condition of these coasts. In Bombay also, some progress has been made in the development of the local fishing industry, which at present cannot supply fish in adequate quantities. A British trawler has been brought out from England, equipped with a refrigerating plant. This vessel made 28 trips before the close of the year, and although the experiment cannot yet be pronounced a commercial success the financial results are already encouraging. Despite the difficulties to which a single trawler operating alone is exposed in a port not organised to meet the requirements of a vessel of her class, the earnings per hour's fishing have risen from Rs. 8 to Rs. 27, and the earnings per hour's absence from port from Rs. 4 to Rs. 23. The experiments in the production of fish oil and guano were brought to a standstill by the failure of the sardine season; but when conditions recover from their temporary set-back, there is every reason to believe that developments of considerable importance will occur. In the Punjab, the main problem confronting those responsible for the conservation of the fisheries includes the imposition of necessary restrictions and adequate propaganda to avoid the ill-informed hostility of local fishermen. A

Punjab.

system of lectures and propaganda among the classes most interested has now been introduced ; but great caution has to be exercised in the extension of the regulations to new districts. The system now being introduced involves considerable benefit to the fishermen, if only through the removal of the monopolist contractor. And when those engaged in the industry can be made to understand what the aims of the administration are, there are always good prospects of securing their co-operation.

In the preceding pages we have briefly reviewed the course of India's economic life during the year 1921-22, and the progress which has been accomplished in the development of her natural resources. It now remains to describe the condition of what is perhaps the most indispensable of all requisites to her prosperity—her system of communications.

Communications.

Quite apart from the vast distances which have to be traversed, and the natural obstacles which must be overcome, in passing from one region of the Indian subcontinent to another, the internal communications, even of a restricted area, frequently break down altogether in the rainy season. Throughout the whole of India's history, the difficulties of communication have exercised a preponderating influence upon her political as well as her industrial development. These difficulties, despite railways, telegraphs, motor-transport, and other expedients undreamt of in older days, still persist as a formidable obstacle to the progress of modern industry. Unceasing effort and expenditure upon a scale hitherto impossible will be necessary if the communications of India, whether by road or by rail, are to be adequate to the requirements of the country. During the period now under review, the utilisation of mechanical transport for military and other purposes has continued to develop. But the use of mechanical transport depends upon increasing improvements in road communication.

Roads.

The necessity for extending India's roads is becoming every year more apparent. At present the economic loss caused by the inaccessibility of many agricultural districts in the rainy season is considerable ; and this cannot be remedied until the system of trunk roads is developed. The progress which is being made year by year, while by no means negligible, is inadequate for the necessities of the country. The total mileage of metalled and unmetalled roads maintained by public authority is still only about 200,000. The matter has for long been receiving the attention of the authorities, but before any adequate steps can be taken, public interest must be aroused in the question. There is all too much

reason to believe that Indian roads are deteriorating rather than improving, and, unless the reformed provincial Governments devote to this important topic the attention which it deserves, there is little prospect of development in the near future. Such a step as that taken by the Government of the United Provinces, which constituted a Provincial Board of Communications, must be pronounced extremely useful. If once the non-official representatives of the general public can be brought into contact with official experts, and can be aroused to the serious implications of a defective road system, a great impetus will certainly be lent to the improvement of communications.

Railways.

But of all means of communication in India, the most important is the railway system. In preceding reports mention was made of the difficulties against which the Indian railways have been struggling since the outbreak of war. Their capacity was seriously over-taxed to carry munitions and stores essential for the prosecution of hostilities, and, in addition, their ability to handle the growing traffic of India was increasingly impaired. Hence great difficulty has been experienced, even subsequent to the Armistice, in obtaining material essential for the upkeep of existing services. Moreover, the task of handling a constantly increasing volume of traffic has been complicated by depletion of the supervising staff.

The total length of Indian railways open for traffic at the end of the year 1920-21 was a little over 37,000 miles. This represents the result of 68 years of construction from the first modest opening, in 1853, of a little suburban line 21 miles in length from Bombay to Thana. Of recent years, the construction of new lines has, both for financial reasons and on account of shortage in the supply of materials, been seriously retarded. Of the 298 miles opened up in 1920-21, more than half is represented by a military railway, and the balance is made up of a few short branches financed mostly by Indian States and branch line companies. Capital expenditure on railways has risen steadily from £2·9 millions—the low water mark—in 1916-17, to £24 millions in the course of 1920-21. But, unfortunately, even this scale of outlay has not sufficed to make good in any appreciable degree the leeway lost during the war. The figures by themselves are indeed misleading, unless allowance is made for the very important fact of a rise of prices which has reduced the effective value of money in some cases to less than half.

Some indication of the importance of the part which is played by Indian railways in the life of the country may be afforded by an examination of the figures of goods and passenger traffic. Between 1901

and 1920-21, the tonnage of goods traffic increased from 43 millions to 87·5 millions; while the earnings increased from £21 millions to £48 millions. This increase, considerable as it may seem, is entirely overshadowed by the phenomenal growth of passenger traffic during the same period. In the year 1901, nearly 195 million passengers were transported, a process from which the railways earned £11 millions. But by 1920-21 the figure of transportations had risen to just under 560 millions, producing to the railways an earning of £40·9 millions. The passenger traffic is thus increasing much faster than the goods—a fact of very great importance as a guide to railway policy. Analysis of the passenger traffic shows that the number of persons travelling in the third class amounted to 490 millions, as against 1 million in the first class, 7 millions in the second class and 11 millions in the intermediate. The immense volume of third class passenger traffic affords a ready explanation of the recurrent complaints regarding over-crowding. The number of purely third class carriages in 1913-14, in terms of four-wheelers, was 15,712. By 1920-21 it had only increased to 17,808. Moreover, owing to renewals being in arrears, an unduly large proportion of the stock is ineffective. The obvious remedy can be applied only as time and money permit; but in the meantime all that is possible is being done in the way of providing a more extensive service of trains. Indeed, the daily passenger train mileage in March 1921 was 9,000 miles in excess of the figure at the same period of the previous year. Despite the remarkable growth of recent years in the volume of the passenger traffic, the transport of goods is still the main item of railway revenue. An analysis of the goods traffic shows that out of the total quantity, 87 million tons, transported during 1920-21, 46 million tons was made up by general merchandise, 21 million tons by coal and coke, 18 million tons by revenue stores and 1 million tons by military stores. Of general merchandise, the most important item from the point of view of tonnage was grain and pulse, which amounted to between 12 and 13 million tons. But the transportation figures of all the other principal articles of export declined in comparison with the quantities carried during the previous four years. Miscellaneous commodities rose to the figure of 16 million tons, a fact which was due mainly to the striking increase of imports to which reference has been made earlier in this chapter.

Importance of Railways.

Passenger Traffic.

Goods Traffic.

Of recent years, there has been considerable public criticism of railway shortcomings, directed principally to the shortage of stock. This, to those unacquainted with the details of practical railway working, appears to constitute the principal, if not the only, difficulty in the matter. It is assumed that, given an unlimited supply of rolling-stock, the troubles of the public in respect of transport would immediately disappear. Unfortunately, the solution of the question depends on other factors which are not so simply disposed of. To provide unlimited stock before adequate facilities such as yards, sidings, double lines, and extended repair shops are available, would produce merely confusion and a superfluity of idle stock. The work of bringing railways up to the necessary standard in this respect is a question of time and the expenditure of large sums of money. Until lines have been equipped to move a greater volume of additional stock, it is futile to agitate, as has been frequently done in India of late, for the purchase of wagons and coaches. Even with the existing numbers, economic handling is a very difficult matter. At the close of the year 1919-20 Indian railways had actually 8,990 engines, 24,743 coaching vehicles and 194,701 goods vehicles. The additions placed on the line in 1920-21 amounted to 375 engines, 208 coaching vehicles, and 6,493 wagons. An analysis of available figures shows that, despite the difficulties of the war years, the total stock under all three heads has considerably increased between 1914-15 and 1920-21. The number of engines has risen from 8,393 to 9,365; of coaching stock from 22,971 to 24,951; and of wagons from 184,076 to 201,194.

Public Criticism.

Difficulties.

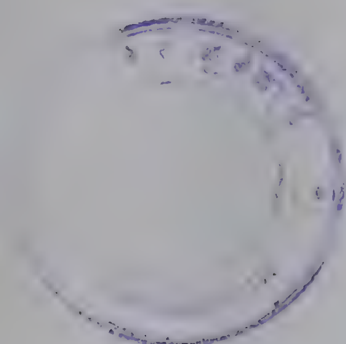
Rolling Stock.

The difficulty of arranging for the adequate transport of coal was referred to in last year's report. This difficulty continued throughout 1921, but was not felt to so severe an extent in the latter half of the year. The system under which the distribution of coal wagons was regulated by the Coal Transportation Officer was continued, the only modification in its working arising from the fact that in 1921 this officer was assisted by the advice of a Committee.

Coal.

Turning to the financial aspect of Indian railways, we see that the gross receipts from State-owned lines rose from £79 millions in 1919-20 to just under £81 millions in 1920-21. On the other hand, working expenses rose from £45 millions to £54 millions, with the result that the net receipts

Financial Results.



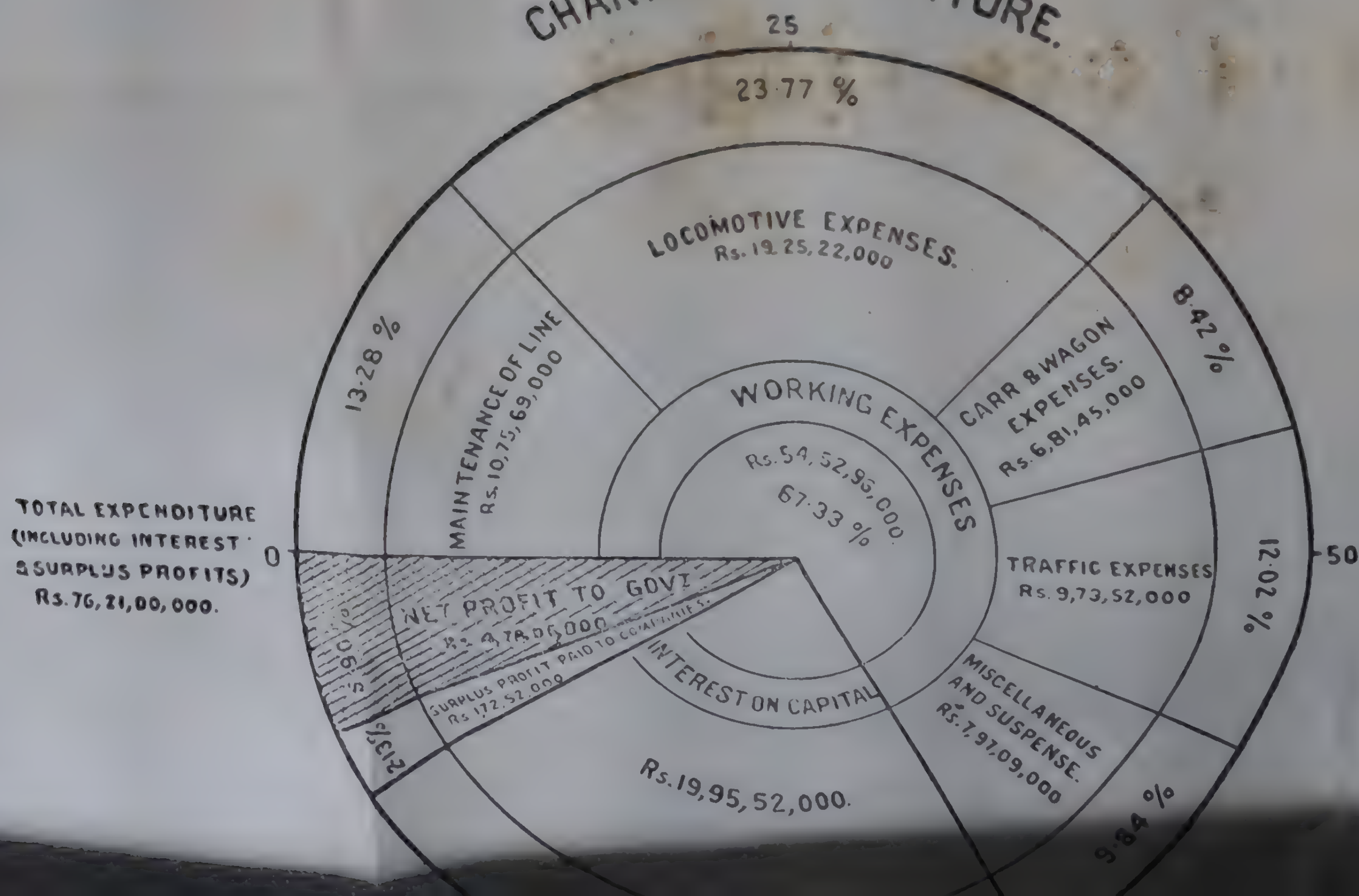
RAILWAY EARNINGS & EXPENDITURE ON STATE OWNED LINES IN INDIA.

1920-21.

CHART OF RECEIPTS.

25
38·52 %
MERCHANDISE GENERAL.
Rs.31,19,71,000.
GOODS
Rs. 44,15,15,000
54·51 %
COAL FOR PUBLIC
Rs.7,80,06,000
9·63 %
RY. STORES
Rs. 2,52,79,000
3·12 %
50
OTHER GOODS TFC
Rs. 2,62,59,000
3·24 %
TOTAL RECEIPTS.
Rs. 80,99,06,000
0
0·93%
OTHER EARNINGS
Rs. 75,44,000
PARCELS AND
MISCELLANEOUS
Rs.6,49,20,000
8·02 %
Rs. 36,08,47,000
44·56 %
COACHING
PASSENGERS
Rs.29,59,27,000
36·54 %
75

CHART OF EXPENDITURE.



declined from £33 millions to £26 millions. This increase in the working expenses is a most serious factor in the financial position. In the last year before the war, the working expenses of State-owned railways in India amounted only to £29 millions. Gross receipts were then £56 millions, and net receipts £27 millions. The increase in working expenditure during the last 7 years has thus neutralised the whole increase in gross receipts and has brought the net receipts almost to the figure at which they stood in 1913-14. In the meantime, the liability of Government in respect of interest on capital has risen. In this connection it may be pointed out that India alone among all the nations of the world has escaped so far a general and extensive rise in railway rates. If railways are to continue on sound business lines, there must soon be an increase in the rates commensurate with the increased cost of maintenance. So far as passengers are concerned, the service given in India is the cheapest in the world. Even in 1918, since when railway rates in other countries have sensibly increased, the average receipts per passenger mile by Indian railways stood, when calculated in American cents, at 0·5. This may be compared instructively with the figure for the United States of America which stood at 2·45 cents, with Holland's 2·27 cents., with Canada's 2·1 cents., and with Japan's 0·67 cents.

Railway Employees.

During the period under review a number of serious railway strikes have inflicted considerable inconvenience upon the general public. Now when the public suffers, it frequently relieves itself by criticism which is not always well-founded. For example, of late the railways have been accused of failure to consider the interests of their employees. This is a mistake. During the last ten years the total number of railway employees has increased from 0·56 million to 0.75 million; while between 1913-14 and 1920-21, the wages bill has increased from £14 millions to £26 millions. Many concessions have also been made to the staff, which have involved the railways in heavy additional recurring expenditure. Grain shops have been opened; the progress of co-operation has been encouraged; provident funds and gratuity benefits have been very substantially improved; Railway colonies, equipped with good water supply and in many cases with electricity, have been started at large centres; while institutes or other forms of recreation are provided or assisted from railway funds. The question of increasing facilities for the education of children is receiving attention. All these benefits have been designed principally for the subordinate staff

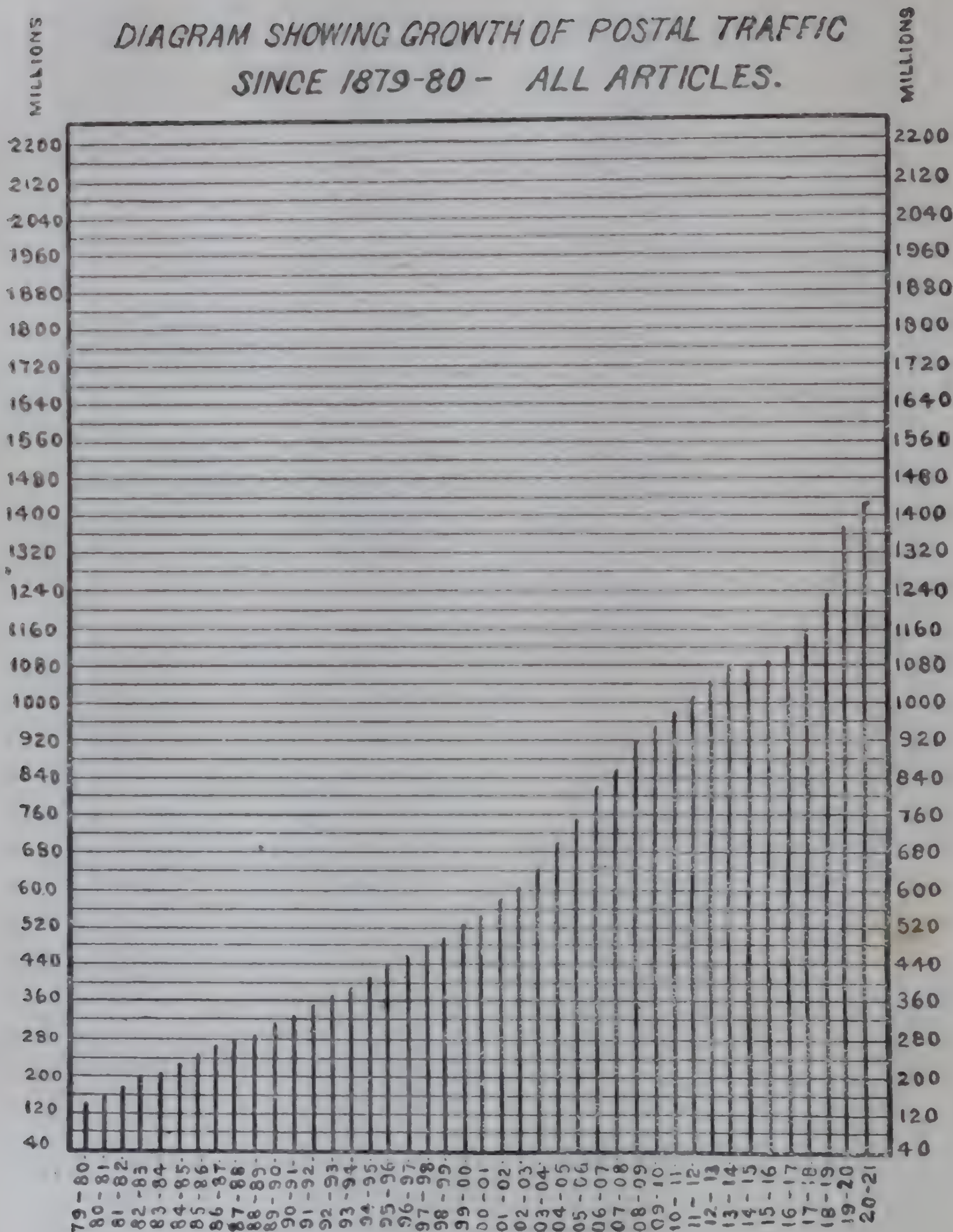
of the railways; in the case of the better paid officers, measures to improve salaries have been carried out in all services.

The Railway Committee.

In last year's report, reference was made to the institution of an enquiry as to the desirability of modifying the present management of Indian State-owned railways. A committee was appointed to advise as to the policy to be adopted when existing contracts with the several railway companies are terminated; to examine the function, status and constitution of the Railway Board, and the system of control exercised by Government over railway administration. It was also to consider arrangements for the financing of railways in India, and in particular the feasibility of utilising to a greater extent private enterprise and capital in the construction of new lines. The committee was also to report whether the present system of control by Government over rates and fares and the machinery for deciding disputes between railways and traders are satisfactory. The committee was presided over by Sir William Acworth. Among its members were included representatives of railway, financial and commercial interests both in England and in India. After a short preliminary session in England, the committee commenced its enquiries in Calcutta in December 1920. Proceeding to Bombay, Madras and other centres, it returned to England in 1921 to complete its investigations. The interest excited by its public sessions was very great; for Indians have long desired to obtain a greater share in the management of a matter so vitally connected with the prosperity of their country as is the railway system. They have also been able to put forward certain grievances such as the accusation that preference is given in the supply of wagons to European-owned industries, which could only be disproved by a full and frank investigation of the causes of complaint.

Railway Committee's Report.

The report of the Railway Committee proved to be a comprehensive document dealing with every phase of railway management and finance in India. So important and far-reaching were many of the changes recommended that considerable deliberation was necessary before action could be taken to give effect to them. In respect of a great many of the less vital suggestions, such as over-crowding, the accommodation of third-class passengers, and the evil of bribery, action could speedily be taken. But in respect of the main proposals a decision has been deferred pending examination. Dealing with the railway administration, the Committee recom-


DIAGRAM SHOWING GROWTH OF POSTAL TRAFFIC SINCE 1879-80 - ALL ARTICLES.
MILLIONS
MILLIONS
2200
2120
2040
1960
1880
1800
1720
1640
1560
1480
1400
1320
1240
1160
1080
1000
920
840
760
680
600
520
440
360
280
200
120
40
79-80
80-81
81-82
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20-21

mended that railways should be entrusted to a special Member of Council, who would also control posts and telegraphs, road transport, ports, and the like, which together should constitute a new Department of Communications. They recommended further that the Railway Board should be re-constituted and enlarged in the form of a Railway Commission, consisting of a Chief Commissioner and 4 Commissioners, of whom one would be in charge of finance, and the remaining three would be allocated to specific territorial divisions of the railway system. The Commissioners would be assisted by 6 Directors, who would be technical specialists in various branches of work. On these two proposals no action has so far been taken, as they are still under examination. Regarding railway finances, the Committee recommended that the railways should have a separate budget of their own, distinct from the general finance of India. A Committee drawn from both Houses of the Legislature considered this proposal in December last, but rejected it as impracticable. The Legislative Assembly, none the less, did not accept this recommendation, and advised further consideration of the question. They endorsed, however, the proposal of the Committee that, in order to secure continuity of railway policy, Government should agree to a 5-year railway programme of £150 millions (Rs. 150 crores). The Railway Committee further recommended the establishment of a Rates Tribunal and of a Central Advisory Council representative of various interests in the country. The latter proposal is already in train; but the project of a Rates Tribunal is still under examination. Further, on the question of company *versus* State administration, the Railway Committee was divided. One-half, including Sir William Acworth, favoured State management, the other half preferring management through the medium of Indian companies. No decision on this important matter has yet been arrived at, and the subject is one of the first items to be considered by the Advisory Council.

Growth of the Post Office.

There can be no doubt that popular interest is growing in the question of Indian communications. Conjoined with this interest naturally goes the steady demand for improvement. Of this an index is afforded by the unchecked progress of the traffic handled by Posts and Telegraphs Department. When in 1854, the postal service of India was formed into a separate department with a Director General, it started with 700 offices. At the close of the year 1920-21, there were 19,496 post offices, 102,885 postal officers and 157,301 miles of mail line. During the year 1389·3 million

articles were handled, including 612 million letters, 630 million post cards and 70 million registered newspapers. Indeed more than 4·5 million articles were carried on each working day.

How Mails are Carried.

Mails in India are transported by such various means as runners, railways, horses, river craft, mail carts, camels and tongas; but where practicable the slower means of conveyance are gradually being replaced by motor-transport. The continuous expansion of the railway system of the country and the increasing use of mechanical transport have caused a steady diminution in the total length of runners' lines, which was 95,983 miles in 1910-11 as compared with 90,538 miles in 1920-21. There are however vast tracts of country where railway or motor transport cannot be used, and every year sees some addition to runners' lines as a necessary adjunct to the numerous small village post offices opened in the interior of districts. The runner therefore still holds, and will continue to hold for many years to come, a prominent place in the organisation as an agency for the conveyance of mails. The annals of the Department furnish numerous instances of runners having been carried away by tigers, drowned in flooded rivers, bitten by venomous snakes, buried in avalanches or murdered by robbers. Even during the period under review, mails were plundered by highway robbers no fewer than 36 times. In 7 cases the mail carriers were killed, and in 4 instances wounded. In the face of all these dangers, the mail runners seldom shrink from performing their duty. They regard the mail bag as a sacred trust which must be carried to its destination at all hazards. Very often they brave death in attempting to save it. No praise can be too high for the honesty, courage and devotion which they display in the performance of their duty.

Public Utilities.

The public utilities of the Indian post office are not confined to the collection, conveyance and delivery of correspondence. In addition, it acts as a banker and agent of the public, it enables them to do their shopping from all distances, it sells quinine, it insures the lives of Government employees, it collects customs duty, it receives salt revenue, and it pays the pension of retired soldiers of the Indian Army.

Financial Results.

During the year under review, the salaries of postal employees were raised to meet the increase in the cost of living and the postal department worked at a net deficit of £ 0·46 millions (Rs. 0·46 crores). Receipts were £5·36 mil-

lions (Rs. 5·30 crores) and payments £5·82 millions (Rs. 5·82 crores). This net deficit may be compared with the figures of the previous year, which showed a net surplus of receipts over expenditure amounting to £0·74 million. As in the case of railways, it is clear that the post office cannot continue to supply an up-to-date service at rates which no longer cover the costs incurred. With the present rate of wages and cost of conveyance it is impossible for the post office to carry any postal article for one-quarter of an anna except at a loss. While it would be difficult to overrate the advantages of cheap postages to a country such as India, it is none the less highly desirable that a public utility service, such as the post office, should be kept thoroughly efficient. This efficiency can only be maintained so long as the Post Office pays its way without having to starve its various branches Unlike the postal department, the telegraph department showed a profit, its total receipts being £3·5 millions (Rs. 3·5 crores) against working charges amounting to £2·69 millions. In the telegraph branch, the total number of inland and foreign telegrams disposed of during the year—19·9 millions—fell by 2 per cent. as compared with the figures of the preceding year. This decrease was due principally to the general depression of trade. The total line and wire mileages continue to grow steadily, and now consist of approximately 90,000 miles of line and cable, carrying 387,000 miles of wire. The telegraph staff of India now consists of over 13,000 officials who work in more than 10,000 offices, of which nearly 9,000 are open to the public. As was mentioned in last year's report, recommendations made by a Committee of enquiry have resulted in a considerable improvement of the pay and working conditions of telegraph officials. Increases of pay and over-time rates have been sanctioned; and house-rent allowances to members of the staff not provided with free quarters have also been granted. As a testimony of the efficiency of the staff, it may be said that statistics maintained by 60 of the principal offices showed that 29 per cent. of the telegrams were transmitted within 10 minutes of receipt and 49 per cent. within 20 minutes. Of the telegrams received for delivery 61 per cent. were sent out to the addressees within 10 minutes of receipt. None the less the growing congestion of the telegraph wires of India and the delays which occasionally arise owing to the extent or the interruption of traffic lend particular importance to the progress of wireless telegraphy. A special wireless branch of the telegraph department exists under the charge of experts brought

Wireless.

out from England. During the period under review the experimental work in connection with atmospheric disturbances, especially troublesome from April to October in India, was steadily pursued with considerable success. The number of Radio telegrams exchanged with ships at sea increased from over 12,000 in 1919-20 to more than 19,000 in 1920-21. The amount of inland traffic also increased, but statistics are not available prior to June 1920. Although the wireless system cannot at present compete with the ordinary telegraph wires for commercial traffic, it is hoped that under the new scheme, regular wireless routes for ordinary traffic passed at high speed will be established within the next two years. A commercial wireless route between Madras and Rangoon has been already sanctioned and the work put in hand. Such routes provide extra outlets in the cases of interruption upon the lines, or on occasions when there is a rush of work. Eventually they should save much expenditure on long overland wires which are costly to work and are steadily becoming yet more costly to maintain.

Telephones.

Another means by which it is hoped before long to remedy the congestion of the telegraph system is the increased employment of telephones. The demand during the year continued to grow, but owing to the difficulty of obtaining instruments, underground cables and switchboards it could not be met in full. At the close of the year under review there were over 1,600 applications on the waiting lists of the various Government systems. During the year 753 miles of new trunk circuits having 1,500 miles of wire were erected, bringing the total up to 5,600 miles of wire as against 4,100 miles in the previous year. There is no doubt that, when material is available, the telephone system will expand rapidly. There are still only 255 Government exchanges with 10,703 connections; while licensed telephone companies own 11 exchanges with 20,335 connections. During the 5 years ending the 31st of March 1921, the number of exchanges supplied and maintained by the Government Telephone Department increased from 226 to 255, the number of connections from 8,115 to 10,703, and the total telephone revenue from £0·09 million to £0·17 million. Progress has been greatly retarded by the war, and it is anticipated that during the next few years, if funds are made available, the development of the telephone in India will proceed more rapidly.

Among other means of communications which in the future will probably play a great part in the development of India, mention must be made of aviation.

Aviation.

Surveys of the primary air routes between Bombay and Calcutta, Calcutta and Rangoon, Calcutta and Delhi, Delhi and Karachi, have been completed, and aerodromes have been provided at some of the terminal stations of these routes together with landing grounds at certain intermediate points. Unfortunately the general financial situation in India has prevented much being done in the way of preparing the Calcutta-Rangoon section of the Bombay-Rangoon air route—which is the first item on the civil aviation programme in India. The necessary land has been acquired in some cases but the preparation of the ground has had to be postponed in nearly every instance. The Bombay-Rangoon air route exists therefore only on paper, and no commercial or mail service is possible until funds are forthcoming for the preparation of the complete route. The Handley-Page Indo-Burmese Transport Company, which was formed with the view to compete for the mail service, went into liquidation and the aeroplanes have been bought by a Calcutta firm. Two carefully prepared schemes for the carriage of mails in India by air have been received by Government, but unfortunately shortage of funds necessary for the preparation of aerodromes prevented their acceptance. Aviation is merely in its infancy in India, as is apparent from the fact that up to December 1921 only 13 certificates of registration were given, 13 licenses granted to ground engineers, and 10 licenses to pilots. The hundred aeroplanes presented by His Majesty's Government to India have been allocated to various local Governments and Administrations, to Indian States and to private individuals : except six which have been retained by the Air Board for purposes of experiment and investigation when funds are available. The remainder are being kept for purposes of demonstration and instruction. But from what has been said it will be obvious that little can be accomplished in the way of progress until the existing financial stringency is eased. As soon as this occurs, there will be nothing to prevent the development of civil aviation. In preparation for this some valuable meteorological work has already been carried out in India.

Upper air investigations were undertaken by the Indian Meteorological Department first in the year 1902. At that time the work was carried out from head-quarters without the help of properly equipped stations in the plains.

Meteorology.

In 1910 the whole system was re-organised and eight stations were equipped for upper air work. Up to then the work had been carried out by kites, but, under the new system, more up-to-date methods and balloons were used. Daily reports are received from Akyab, Calcutta, Agra, Simla, Lahore, Peshawar and Quetta. Bangalore and Colombo are also equipped for upper air work, and reports are received from these stations when of sufficient interest.

CHAPTER VI.

The People and their Problems.

Monsoon Failure.

As was mentioned in last year's Report, the monsoon of 1920, after making a good start, proved in the end disappointing. While its average quantity was only 12 per cent. below the normal, the distribution, which is probably of more practical importance than the total precipitation, was extremely defective. The comparative failure of the rains in September not only seriously affected the standing monsoon crops, but was responsible also for a large decrease in area in the succeeding winter crops. Until about the middle of November 1920, leaving aside some distress in parts of Bihar and also of Burma and Hyderabad, there was no scarcity or famine. But the early cessation of the monsoon and the lack of winter rains then caused the agricultural situation in other parts of the country to deteriorate. Famine was declared in one district of the Bombay Presidency, scarcity in another district, as well as in seven districts of the Central Provinces. Famine conditions in Hyderabad also became more pronounced; and distress prevailed in certain districts of the Madras Presidency. In consequence, by the end of the year 1920, the famine machinery of India was set in motion for the benefit of some 80,000 persons. Grants of money were sanctioned for the affected areas, relief works and gratuitous relief provided. Revenue was remitted on a generous scale, and preparations made to meet future developments. During the early months of the year 1921, these conditions unfortunately persisted with some aggravation. In three districts of the Central Provinces, Jubbulpore, Mandla and Seoni, famine was declared. The same declaration was made in the Bellary, Anantpur and Kurnool districts of the Madras Presidency, in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency, and in parts of Baluchistan. Scarcity was also declared in 8 districts of the Central Provinces, 5 districts in Bombay and 3 districts in the United Provinces. Local distress prevailed in one district of the Bengal Presidency, in one district of the Punjab, and in the Rewa State of Central India.

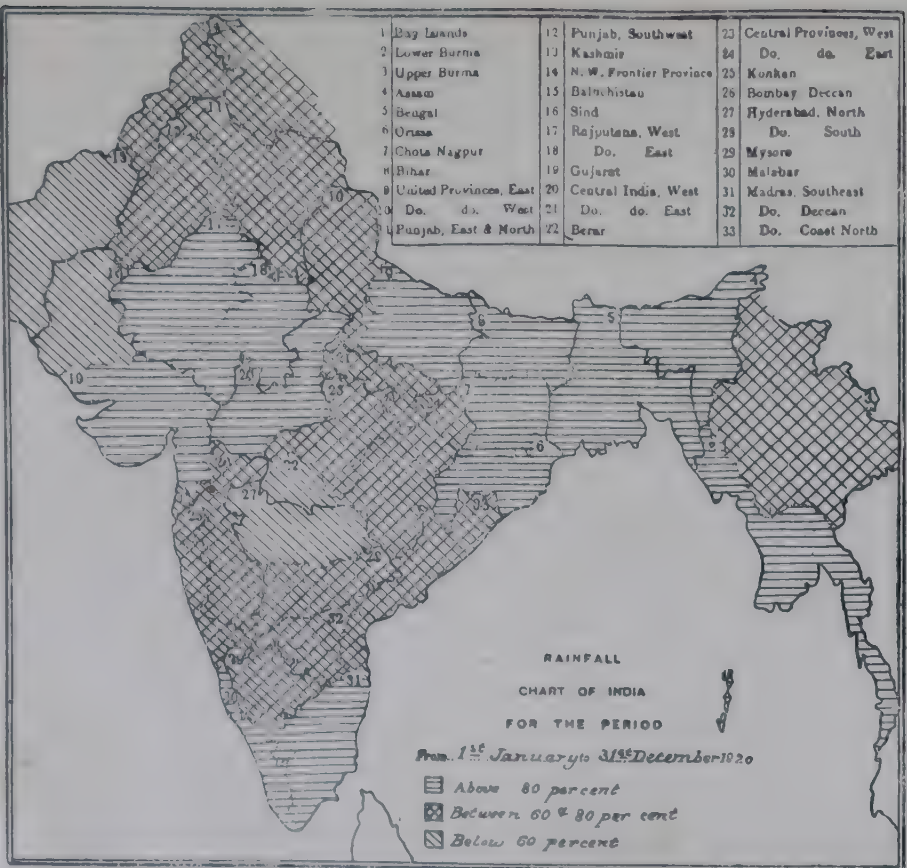
Famine and Scarcity.

As will readily be understood, the year 1920-21 was a time of considerable hardship. Fortunately the excellent monsoon of 1921 brought eventual relief. But through the larger portion of the calendar year, prices ruled very high, and supplies of certain foodgrains were short. Despite the seriousness of these conditions, the agricultural population weathered the storm in a remarkable manner. The largest number of persons on relief of all kinds was 0·45 million, a figure only attained during the week ending June 18th, 1921. Distressing as its magnitude may seem, we should note that it is considerably less than 3 per cent. of the total population of the area affected by the monsoon failure.

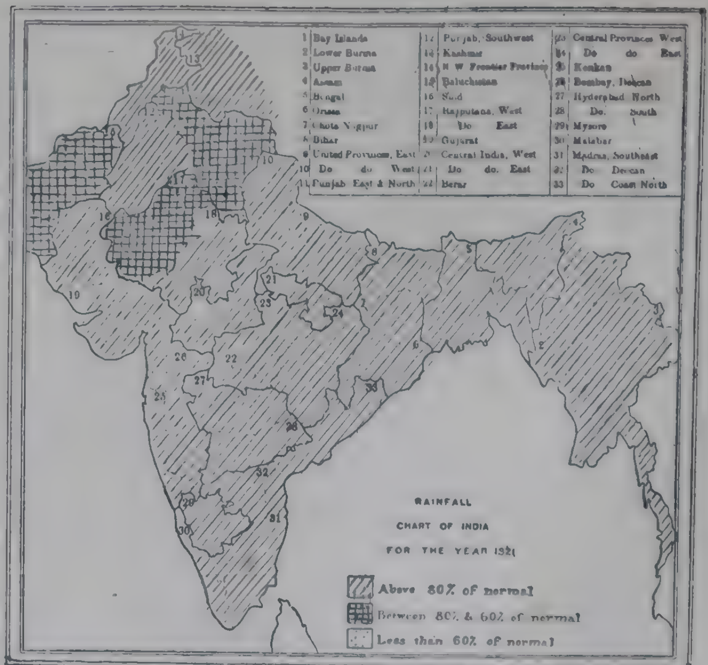
The smallness of the proportion of persons accepting relief is of itself remarkable, in view of the disastrous character of the season. But the truth is that the agricultural masses have gradually improved their position and that economic pressure upon them is now growing less acute. Of late years, the main trouble throughout the Indian countryside has been the general failure of wages to overtake prices. As to the exact effect of such a state of affairs it is difficult to speak with certainty: but the investigations of Dr. Harold Mann into certain Deccan villages have yielded results which serve to explain the distress and hardship suffered in many quarters since the war. It seems that where prices rise without an increase of wages, the gulf between the solvent and the insolvent classes of villagers tends to widen, most of the people who were previously solvent becoming more solvent, while the position of the insolvents deteriorates. It would further appear that a 50 per cent. rise in prices without a corresponding increase in wages, makes for the advantage of those people who have sufficient land which they work with their own labour to maintain them in a sound position; but the man who benefits most is the non-cultivating proprietor. Where, as is so frequently the case, there is a combined dependence upon land worked by a family and upon income derived from that family's labour, the position depends solely upon the proportion between the income derived from the land and the income derived from the labour. But the general effect on the village population of a rise in prices, without a corresponding rise in wages, seems disastrous; and the annual deficit of expenses over earnings of the families belonging to a given village increases enormously. During the post-war years, matters have of course been slowly improving with the progressive adjustment of agricultural wages to prevailing prices—an adjustment assisted by the

Prices and Wages: Disparity.

RAINFALL CHART OF INDIA 1920.



RAINFALL CHART OF INDIA 1921.



SCARCITY CHART OF INDIA 1920.

Chart of India
for 1920.
Famine declared
Scarcity

SCARCITY CHART OF INDIA 1921.



growing demand for labour. This process has been a marked characteristic of rural life in India during 1921, and its effect has been to mitigate in large degree the distress that would otherwise have been caused by a monsoon failure so formidable as that of 1920. Throughout the period under review, unskilled agricultural labour commanded such high wages that in certain parts of India, cultivators found casual labour a more certain and a more profitable means of livelihood than agricultural work. In the North West Frontier Province, for example, a casual labourer was able to earn easily between 12 annas and one rupee per day, and in many cases considerably more. Even in the famine-stricken districts themselves, such as Bijapur, unskilled labour commanded as much as 6 annas a day. Hence, despite the monsoon failure, during the year under review, the agricultural population has fared unexpectedly well. The following report, referring to the Bijapur district, is typical of many others :—

Prices and Wages: Adjustment.

> "If any satisfaction can be derived from such a misfortune as a failure of crops, it was in the manner in which the people withstood the scarcity. There was no emaciation or physical deterioration and none of the old famine diseases; the average mortality in both the affected districts being below normal. The people readily took advantage of the local demand for labour, and the high prices obtainable for such labour maintained them in good condition. The cattle also came through the scarcity remarkably well. The villagers in each affected area sold their superfluous cattle, but this in many cases must have given much needed relief to the over-crowded grazing areas."

The manner in which the agricultural population of India has survived the scarcity and famine of 1920-21 lends some additional weight to the point of view tentatively put forward in last year's Report as to the condition of the rural masses. It was therein pointed out that, without an extremely elaborate and costly survey, such as there is little chance of organizing in India for some time to come, it is difficult to strike a balance such as would indicate the average economic position of the Indian peasant. Until this is done, no one can settle with exactness the problem, which is constantly propounded in the public press, whether

The Position of the Agricultural Population.

the masses of India are becoming poorer or richer under British rule. It is plain to the careful observer that there is considerable indirect evidence as to a growing prosperity rather than to an increasing poverty. The remarkable popularity of railway travel, as witnessed by the phenomenal multiplication of third class passengers during the last two decades, of which mention has been made in an earlier chapter, would seem to indicate that more money is available over and above the bare necessaries of life than was previously the case. The recently increased absorption of rupees, which two years ago threatened the whole currency system of India with inconvertibility, combined with the growing employment of silver for purposes of adornment by classes of the population previously, and within living memory, accustomed to brass, would seem to point in the same direction. Further, the steady substitution of a monetary for a national system of economy, with its accompaniments of a preference for imported cloth, for imported mineral oil, and for imported domestic utensils would seem to show that those who advance India's claim to increasing prosperity have something more than personal prejudice upon which to base their contention.

Progress or Retrogression.

During the year under review, a certain amount of direct evidence has become available pointing in the same direction. The Statistical Branch of the Department of Agriculture of the Madras Presidency has published an extremely careful estimate of the agricultural income—that is to say, the income which is earned by agriculture in the form of agricultural products—throughout Madras. This seems to show that the total contribution of agriculture to the income of the population of Madras Presidency amounts to £300·7 millions (Rs. 300·7 crores). The agricultural population is just $\frac{5}{7}$ths of the total population of the Presidency; so that if we may assume the contribution of the agricultural and non-agricultural populations to be in proportion to strength, the non-agricultural income should be $\frac{2}{5}$ths or 40 per cent. of the agricultural income. A simple calculation based upon this assumption would seem to show that the total income of the Presidency is somewhere near £434 millions (Rs. 434 crores). The population of Madras being 42·3 millions by the census of 1921, the average income per head works out, on the above calculation, at a little over £10 (Rs. 100). The statement has so often been repeated that the average income per head for all India is only £3 (Rs. 30) that some people are likely to be astonished at a figure so large as that apparently prevailing in the Madras Presidency. But it must be remembered that the

estimate of Rs. 30 was made at the close of the last century; and further that it was a minimum, not a maximum, estimate of the average income. Since it was arrived at, the alteration of prices has been so great that the purchasing power of Rs. 100 in 1920 is only 40 per cent. greater than that of Rs. 30 in 1899. Even if it can be assumed that the income of Rs. 100 per head per annum of the Madras Presidency is true for the rest of India, this increase over the 1899 figure does not really amount to very much. For at present, an average Madras rustic family, enjoying such an income must spend nearly half its earnings on staple food, if that food be rice, in order to get enough food. Only half its income is available for all the other necessities of civilised life—milk, curds, clarified butter, condiments, clothing, fuel, light, housing, education, amusement, travel, recreation, and the like. In short, this Madras survey seems to show that the symptoms of increasing prosperity, such as has been described, ought not to disguise from the observer the poverty which besets the masses of the Indian population—poverty of a kind which finds no parallel in the more exigent, because less tropical, climate of Europe. But that encouraging symptoms are not wholly lacking, we have already seen: and it must be admitted that these symptoms have successfully surmounted very severe tests. No one can deny that the manner in which the bad seasons of 1919-20 and 1920-21 have been weathered, speaks eloquently for an increase of resisting powers in the poorer classes. The process of improvement must necessarily be slow. As time goes on, it may be hoped that the increased development of India's resources will gradually create a *per capita* figure of wealth sufficient for her needs as a nation. But the industrial regeneration of 270 millions of people, which is the population of British India, the majority of whom are poor and helpless beyond Western conception, is not a matter which can be accomplished in a few years. It is little indeed that any administration can do to mitigate the gigantic problem of Indian poverty, although, as was amply apparent in recent years, Government action may, in times of crisis, avert disaster.

Food Conservation and Control.

As in 1920, the problem of the food supply continued all through the period under review to exercise the Administration. The policy of the Government of India with regard to the export of food-grains has been to get rid of the measures of control adopted in consequence of post-war economic conditions as soon as circumstances justify this course. In March 1921, the Council of State adopted a Resolution recommending the removal of restrictions on the export of all food-grains from

India forthwith, but no immediate effect was given to this Resolution by Government, since it was decided to defer action until the ultimate character of the monsoon of 1921-22 was definitely ascertained. Events proved the wisdom of this course. During the summer of 1921 and the early part of the rainy season of that year, prices of all food grains showed a considerable and fairly steady rise. This was scarcely a matter for surprise, since the premature cessation of the 1920 monsoon had caused, as we have seen, a widespread failure of the autumn harvest in northern, western and central India, with the consequence that sowings of spring crops had been greatly restricted. As has already been pointed out elsewhere, Government had previously abandoned the scheme put in force in October 1920, under which a maximum quantity of 0·4 million tons of wheat was to be exported, subject to a definite limit of price. But the suddenness of the rise in prices, especially of wheat, which occurred towards the end of August 1921 came as a surprise to the people and the Government alike. Various extraordinary rumours were afloat and it was popularly believed that Government were allowing the export of large quantities of wheat to Europe. These rumours were sedulously encouraged by political malcontents, especially in the Punjab. The Government of India and the Local Governments affected, did their best to remove all misapprehension by the issue of communiqués pointing out the true facts. But in the meantime an acute economic position had been created owing to the prevalence of high prices of wheat. This was especially the case in the Punjab, where wheat rose to a level far above the maximum ever attained in the year 1919, when agricultural conditions had been very similar. The Punjab Government, therefore, pressed upon the Government of India the importance of an early announcement, to the effect that no further exports of wheat and flour from India would be allowed at least until the end of March 1922. Although it could be clearly demonstrated that, with the prices ruling in Europe and India at the time, the export of wheat from India to Europe was a sheer economic impossibility, it was considered advisable to accede to this request. An announcement to the desired effect was accordingly made in September 1921. It was also stated that, in order to prevent any depletion of stocks or enhancement of prices owing to military requirements, it had been decided to obtain all supplies of wheat and flour required for the army in India, or based on India, by the purchases of wheat abroad, so far as this was possible. The import of foreign wheat was therefore encouraged, and the total amount actually

Crisis in the autumn.

arriving in India up to the 31st December 1921, was 0·23 million tons, out of which 0·023 million tons were on military account. Special enquiries in the Punjab and the United Provinces indicated that the rise in wheat prices was due to a genuine shortage of stocks, and not to speculation or cornering. Strength was lent to this contention by the fact that the outturn of wheat in the Punjab was estimated at not much above 2 million tons, a figure which compares very unfavourably with the yield of nearly 3½ million tons mentioned in last year's Report. In regard to rice also, special measures were taken to conserve stocks for Indian consumption. During 1921 the exports of rice from India were limited to an allotment of 160,000 tons from the port of Karachi for export to the Persian Gulf ports and Aden, and 55,000 tons of boiled rice from certain ports of the Madras Presidency to Ceylon. In addition, the Government of India sanctioned the export from Calcutta to Cuba, the Bermudas and other West Indian islands of 15,000 tons of a special quality of rice ("old hard table") which is not consumed in India and is manufactured principally for export to the Cuban market. Under the modified scheme of rice control brought into force in Burma with effect from the 1st of January 1921, 1·1 million tons were reserved for India out of the exportable surplus of 1·9 million tons. The balance of 0·8 million tons was allowed to be exported to foreign countries under license. This scheme had the effect of bringing down the price of rice in Burma in the early part of the year, but in June it was reported that out of the sanctioned allotment of 0·84 million tons, approximately 65,000 tons only remained for export to foreign countries during the year. Since the Government of India were anxious to conserve the remaining supplies for those countries within the Empire which have large Indian populations, such as Ceylon, the Straits Settlements and the Mauritius, they stopped the general issue of further licenses to foreign countries with effect from the 1st of July 1921. The small balance remaining available for export was distributed among certain countries to meet their minimum requirements during the remainder of the year. In view, however, of the favourable reports received towards the close of the period under review regarding the rice crops both in India and in Burma, all restrictions on the export of rice from Burma were removed on the 13th December 1921.

Purchase of Wheat Abroad.

Rice.

As was mentioned in last year's volume, there is a widespread popular belief in India that the export of food-grains from the country is

responsible for the prevailing high prices. This conclusion rests on most insufficient grounds. Even prior to the introduction of the system of control, the average net export of grain and pulse from India in the 10 years ending 1918 averaged less than 1·5 million tons per annum, as against a total production of food-grains estimated at somewhere near 80 million tons. This small exportable surplus, which has latterly been kept in the country by the restrictive policy previously outlined, has undoubtedly assisted India to pull through the crises caused by the monsoon failures of 1918-19 and 1920-21. Its smallness seems to show that the country is accustomed to rely rather upon her food stocks than upon the quantity which she normally sets aside for export. The general justification for the restrictions on export in force during the period under review lies rather in the political than in the economic effect of such restrictions; although, unquestionably, a certain steadying in price, largely due to increased public confidence, has from time to time resulted therefrom. It would however be a mistake to maintain, as is done in certain sections of the Indian press, that a complete and permanent restriction on the export of food-grains would conduce to the benefit of India. Already there are signs that the Indian cultivator, who is as alive to obvious economic facts as his prototype in other countries, is beginning to turn his attention from food-grains to crops which fetch a better price in a wider market. In certain parts of India, for example in Bengal, the shrinkage of the provincial area under food-grains caused by the growth of the area under certain other crops is exciting a certain alarm.

The "Food-Drain."

As we have noticed, the economic condition of the Indian countryside during the year 1921 has been one of considerable strength. Despite the rise in prices of food, the increased wages of the agricultural labourer have enabled him to sustain a period of monsoon failure with greater ease than might have been expected. It may be taken as contributory proof of his improving position that the period under review has also been conspicuous for a tendency towards joint action. Such action, it may be pointed out, does not in practice occur among persons who are in a weak and resourceless condition. It is generally characteristic rather of classes of the population who, having already made considerable economic advances, take advantage of the strength they have gained in order to consolidate their position and to improve it by combination. In various parts of India during the year 1921, the movement for tenants' unions or Kisan

The Countryside.

Sabhas has become increasingly prominent. In many cases, these unions have confined themselves to collective bargaining with local landholders and overlords, and to securing improved conditions of tenure and labour for their members. They have also commenced to ventilate their grievances to the general public. As a result, the year has been marked in many parts of India by the rustic labourer's increased appreciation of his own value to society. Bond serfdom, which not infrequently governed the relations between creditor and debtor, is tending to disappear rapidly. Nor has the State been slow to assist in the uplift of the rural population. The time-honoured practice of impressed labour has been forbidden in many provinces by legislative enactment: and the Reformed Local Governments are devoting considerable attention to such matters as tenant right. During the period under review a very important measure was successfully engineered for the province of Oudh, where hitherto tenure at will has been the practice. The substantial merits of the Oudh Tenancy Act were unfortunately obscured from the public eye by warm disputes over details: but dispassionate examination shows that the benefits derived therefrom by the peasantry are likely to be considerable. In other provinces also, attention is being devoted to similar questions; and Government generally speaking has shown itself only too willing to demonstrate its friendliness towards the Kisan Sabhas. But unfortunately in some instances these organisations have been manipulated for political purposes by wire-pullers, either local or imported. Mention has already been made in preceding pages of the occurrence of riots and disorders due to such perversion, more particularly in the United Provinces. These events have unfortunately necessitated drastic action on the part of the administration. Care has, however, in all cases been taken to demonstrate that the action of Government is directed to the repression of disorder and not to the repression of peaceful and lawful combination among agricultural labourers. In this connection there can be little doubt that one effect of the non-co-operation movement has been to divert the activities of certain of the tenants' unions into dangerous paths. They have begun to concern themselves with matters political, regarding which their information is necessarily one-sided and incomplete. There has thus been a tendency, at least in certain parts of India, towards action of a semi-Bolshevik character. This has been considerably stimulated by the policy of hostility to Government preached by the non-co-operation party, as well

Tenants' Unions.

State Action.

as by their open incitements to passive resistance and the withholding of taxes. The net result of these activities has been a considerable increase in the class-consciousness of the rustic. A situation is thus growing up which needs extremely careful handling. For, as the outbreaks during the period under review have clearly shown, the Indian villager is very susceptible to misguidance, and when under the influence of grievances, real or fancied, is prone to sudden outbursts of unreasoning violence. The matter will probably right itself as education gradually spreads. But until the Indian rustic attains a greater sense of responsibility and a sounder knowledge of political affairs, the stimulus which has been afforded to his class-consciousness contains potentialities of serious disorder.

The Town-Dwellers.

Having thus indicated in brief the general conditions during the year 1921, of the Indian countryside, in which dwell some 90 per cent. of the Indian population, it remains to turn to the town population. It should be remembered that the position of the town-dweller in a time of rising prices is often considerably inferior to his brother in the country. The monetary income of the average villager, small though it may be, does not represent his total budget. His dwelling as a rule costs him little or nothing ; while his food is mainly produced by his own labour and by that of his family. In the towns, on the other hand, the monetary income of the individual represents by far the largest proportion of his assets ; and when the interval between prices and wages is at all considerable, great economic suffering results. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the middle classes. Small shopkeepers, clerks, the lower grades of State and commercial employees, have for the last four years been exposed to the pinch of necessity. Prices have been rising to a considerable degree ; and the economics of the town generally prevent members of this class from profiting by any temporary reduction in the price of ordinary commodities. In their small fixed incomes, their large families and their steadily increasing expenditure, they have found cause for deep and widespread discontent. Their position is complicated by the fact that social status compels them to " keep up appearances " effectively preventingthem from entering upon new employment of a more lucrative kind than their own pursuit if it should happen to conflict with long-established custom and social prejudice. In fact, like England, India has her new poor, especially in the middle-class of town-dwellers. The readjustment

Sufferings of the Middle Classes.

between prices and wages must in their case necessarily be slow; since the labour market in which the middle and lower middle classes compete is habitually overstocked. So far as Government employees are concerned, something has already been done to mitigate the rigour of their position: but they account, it must be remembered, for but a small fraction of the class to which they belong. Their less fortunate brethren, conscious of increasing hardship and misery, fall a ready prey to the latest gust of political agitation; constituting, it would seem, by far the most bitter and enthusiastic elements in any anti-Government campaign. The town labourer, on the other hand, has many advantages from which the middle-class man is in India rigidly debarred by the traditional limitations of his position.

The Labourer.

The market in which the town labourer competes, whether he be skilled or unskilled, is normally large. He can form himself into combines for extorting better terms from his employers. He can change, as opportunity offers, from one kind of labour to another if he be unskilled; and even if he be skilled, he has probably several strings to his bow. Moreover, though at present insufficiently organised, he is gradually acquiring a power, unknown to the middle-class man, to bring his grievances urgently before the notice of the public by strikes which interfere with public utilities. Considering the importance of the part played in the history of the year 1921 by all the self-assertive activities, legitimate or otherwise, of the town labourer, some endeavour must be made to examine the position which he occupies in the economic structure of India.

Characteristics of Indian Labour.

It has frequently been pointed out that Indian labour has not been up to the present as economical as its cheapness would imply. It has long been an axiom with Indian employers that the Indian labourer prefers long hours, with lax discipline, to shorter hours, with strict discipline. But, as pointed out in last year's Report, there was a tendency during 1920 to give the latter plan a trial. The shorter hours upon which workmen have successfully insisted in Ahmedabad, Bombay and elsewhere have rendered this inevitable: and a further step has been taken by the introduction of legislation for a sixty-hour week in factories. But the efficiency of the Indian workman must be raised considerably before he can turn out as good work as his rival overseas. The first step towards raising his efficiency is to raise his standard of living, and before this can be effected, the wages, housing and general conditions of labour in India will have to be improved

considerably. Already serious efforts are being made to tackle all these problems. In the larger industrial cities, the wages of the labouring classes are rapidly overtaking the inflated prices hitherto responsible for so much hardship. Efforts are being made to relieve the congestion which threatens to make the housing conditions of labour intolerable. The Improvement Trusts in great cities, such as Bombay and Calcutta, are devoting funds to this object, and many employers are undertaking housing schemes for their labour. Attention is also being directed more and more prominently in the great industrial centres to what is known in the West as welfare work. During the period under review, a careful enquiry was made into the conditions of employment of women and children in different provinces, in industry, in agriculture, and in coal-mining, while some firms started maternity benefit schemes for their women employees. Firms were also recommended to employ medical women to look after the health of such employees, and in certain instances this advice has already been taken. Local Governments have been asked to consider the necessity of establishing health services in connection with the inspection of factories, while the utility of employing female officials to study health questions, in so far as they affect women industrial workers, has also been pointed out. But beyond question the most important step taken during the year 1921 towards the amelioration of the conditions of Indian labour was the introduction of a Bill to amend the Indian Factories Act. The principal features of the amending Act include the provision of further protection for children working in factories by raising the maximum and minimum ages, by reducing their hours of labour in non-textile factories, by providing for intervals of rest, and by inserting additional safeguards in respect to certification. Further, the hours for adults in all classes of factories have been limited, with lengthened intervals for rest and more stringent provisions for week-day holidays. Moreover, there has been a considerable extension in the definition of the word "factory" and definite principles have been enunciated to regulate the grant of exemption from the provisions of the Act. During the year, proposals for legislation for the provision of workmen's compensation were formulated by the Government of India and published for general criticism. These beneficent efforts in the direction of improving the conditions of labour have by no means been confined to the State. Certain private

Welfare Work.

Factory Conditions Improved.

institutions, as well as some large Indian firms, are beginning to take an active interest in the matter. The Social Service League in Bombay is carrying on welfare work among the operatives employed in two groups of mills under the agency of Messrs. Currimbhoy Ibrahim and Messrs. Tatas. In the Tata industrial city at Jamshedpur, welfare work on an extensive scale is also being conducted. Co-operative credit societies are being steadily introduced among mill-hands, who as a class are thriftless and liable to fall into the clutches of extortionate shopkeepers and money-lenders. But before very much progress can be made in ameliorating the lot of the Indian labourer, some systematic attempts must be made to give him sufficient education to enable him to perceive his own interest more clearly than is the case at present. Some of the more enlightened mill-owners in Bombay and elsewhere maintain schools for the education of the children of their employees; but little has been so far accomplished in the direction of providing free or compulsory education for the children of the labouring classes in urban areas.

Private Philanthropy.

During the year 1921, as we have already noticed, the economic restlessness characteristic of the year 1920 continued and expressed itself most plainly in combined action on the part of workmen. Labour unions have come prominently before the notice of the general public on account of the magnitude and frequency of the strikes which have taken place. Hitherto the generality of these unions have been conducted in a fashion which makes comparison with corresponding institutions in the West very misleading. But from the remarkable growth in the number of these bodies during the year 1921 there seems little doubt that the movement has come to India to stay. In the larger towns, on the railways, and in some public utility services, such as the Post Office, the employees have succeeded in building up organizations which are likely to be the nuclei of properly constituted trades unions. The remainder of the unions have still very little cohesion and many are virtually strike committees. This is partly to be explained by the fact that in many of the important industrial centres the labour population is floating—that is to say, the average labourer is domiciled in a locality remote from that in which he works, and he expects to return once more to his village after a period spent in a mill or factory. Partly also it is due to the fact that many labourers dislike the idea of regular contributions and union discipline, so that a given union rarely embraces more than a small per-

Labour Unions.

Their Weakness.

centage of the men employed in any establishment. In consequence, the authority which can be exercised by the smaller unions over the men as a whole is at present very restricted, although fortunately it shows a tendency to increase. The need for increased efficiency in organisation among Indian trades unions has again made itself amply apparent during the period under review. There were no fewer than 400 strikes during 1921. Of these, the majority were due to economic causes, but in some cases political issues were confused with economic grievances. This was the case in two of the most stubborn strikes that India has known—the Assam tea garden strike, with the resultant strike on the Assam-Bengal Railway and the Indian inland river steamers; and the Buckingham and Carnatic mill strikes. The Assam-Bengal Railway strike lasted for about 2½ months. At its height, some 11,000 employees were out of work, and in the end some 4,500 lost their posts altogether. In the Buckingham and Carnatic mill strikes, about 10,000 workmen were concerned. Throughout the year, as we have already seen, the gap between wages and cost of living diminished, and in many cases disappeared; and the effect of this on the course of strikes became increasingly apparent. The successful strikes that had marked the year 1920 became fewer and fewer as 1921 proceeded; indeed, by the end of the year they had become rare. But if India is to profit by the example of other countries, and avoid the loss and dislocation caused by recurrent strikes, the labour problem must be tackled systematically. She has, indeed, her own special reasons for regarding it as urgent. Quite apart from the inconvenience caused to the general public by economic unrest, there are other and even more serious aspects to be considered. If India is to make any real advance towards responsible government, there must be a substantial and continuous increase in her resources. For this, industrial advance is necessary; and nothing will do more to check it than continuous conflict between employers and employed.

Strikes.

In dealing with this urgent problem, the first requisites are trained investigators and adequate information. Accordingly, the State has taken the lead in the organization of separate Labour Departments or Bureaux. The Labour Bureau of the Central Government was started in May 1920, and special officers dealing with labour have been employed in Madras, Bengal, Bombay and the United Provinces. Already the activities of these Departments have begun to attract the attention of the public to the importance of labour

State Action.

Labour Bureaux.

questions. During the year the Government of India endeavoured to stimulate enquiry into the cost of living of the labouring classes with a view to the construction of cost of living index numbers. The scheme was taken up with energy in Bombay and in the United Provinces. If provincial index numbers which command general support can be produced, they will provide extremely valuable data for the solution of industrial problems.

Protection of Trades Unions.

In last year's Report we saw that near the end of 1920 a decision of the Madras High Court had revealed the necessity of legislation for the protection of Indian trades unions. As the law then stood, it was possible to obtain an injunction restraining a trades union official or organizer from influencing labourers to break their contract with their employers by striking to obtain an increase of wages. The precipitation of an issue so grave before the main lines of union development had had time to settle themselves, is certainly regrettable. Government, however, felt compelled to move in the matter, and during the year 1921 proposals were published for a trade union bill, with a view to its early introduction in the legislature. The question of machinery for the settlement of strikes has engaged the attention of the Indian administration for some time; and while no comprehensive scheme has yet been devised, useful experiments have been made. In Madras, Courts of Enquiry proved of some value in diminishing discord in 1920, and several successful efforts at conciliation have been made in other provinces. Acting on the recommendations of a committee which investigated the subject, the Government of Bengal

Conciliation.

created an organization for the settlement of disputes in public utility services. The first Board of conciliation and arbitration appointed in that Presidency dealt successfully with a strike on the light railways around Calcutta. In Bombay also a Committee was asked to explore the causes of industrial unrest and to suggest remedies. It is not possible to estimate exactly the utility of conciliation or arbitration boards in India; but there seems little doubt that they are likely to meet a need which is much felt. Among employers also efforts have been made to obviate possible causes of labour unrest by the institution of works committees or shop committees on the lines recommended by the Whitley Committee in England. Similar committees have also been established in certain industrial establishments controlled by the State.

The movement is still in its infancy, and it is difficult to say how it will develop in relation to the growing trades union movement.

International Aspects of Labour.

Under modern conditions, labour can no longer be considered a purely domestic problem. As a member of the League of Nations, India has recently been called upon to consider and take action regarding the proposals adopted by the International Labour Conference held at Washington at the close of 1919. Six draft Conventions and six recommendations were adopted by this Conference, the most important of which contained provisions regarding limitation of the hours of work; unemployment; the employment of women before and after child-birth and during the night; the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment; the night work of young persons employed in industry; the prevention of anthrax; the use of white phosphorous in the manufacture of matches; and the establishment of a Government health service. All these matters came up for consideration during the period under review, and, as already pointed out, important action has been taken in several directions by the Legislature notably in the amendment of the Factories Act. India was not required to satisfy the convention regarding the employment of women before and after child-birth; but Government was asked to make an enquiry into prevailing conditions with a view to sending a report to the meeting of the International Labour Conference in 1921. The enquiry was accordingly instituted and a report submitted; but the time did not seem ripe to introduce legislation enforcing the convention. In view of the importance of the subject, however, it was decided that efforts should be made to induce employers and owners to start voluntary benefit schemes and to give them such help and advice as they might need. Arrangements were made for

Women's Welfare.

medical women to collect information relating to the needs of women employees and the provision made for them at the time of child-birth. The Council of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund lent the services of two of their staf belonging to the Women's Medical Service for the purpose of preliminary enquiries in Bengal and Bombay. In the Punjab, the Assistant to the Inspector General, Civil Hospitals, has undertaken similar duties in conjunction with her other work. A like arrangement for the United Provinces unfortunately failed to materialize. The Central Government at the same time set a good example by introducing liberal rules regulating the grant of maternity leave to women in its employ. It has been suggested to Local Governments that similar rules should be framed

for their employees, and that efforts should be made to induce local authorities to do the same. Certain of the other conventions were ratified by the Bill amending the Indian Factories Act, to which reference has already been made.

Appreciation of Government's Efforts.

That the efforts of the Government of India in carrying out their obligations under the peace treaty have been appreciated, may be seen from the following remarks addressed to the Secretary of State by the Director of the International Labour Office :—

"I should be much obliged if you would convey to the Government of India the gratitude of the International Labour Office for the assistance that was given to the work of the International Labour Organization, and its great appreciation of the manner in which the Government of India is fulfilling its obligations and of the conspicuous example of social and labour progress which it is thus showing to the world."

The Director's report further recognizes the efforts of India in the following paragraph :—

"The action taken by the Government of India with regard to the ratification of the Washington decisions may be regarded as the first tangible results in the East of the ideals inspiring Part XIII of the Treaty of Peace; and the information furnished in the above mentioned extract from the letter of the Government of India, Department of Industries, and in the above report is evidence of the active interest of the Government of India in securing the improvement of the conditions of industrial life and labour in its country. Immediately after the passing of the Washington decisions, an intensely hopeful atmosphere was created in this country. One is justified in stating that these hopes have not been deceived. A vast social revolution has been realized which will have a far-reaching effect in the production of the world-wide equilibrium of social conditions for which the movement strives."

The action which India had taken on proposals prepared by previous sessions of the International Labour Conference, secured her a prominent part at the third session which was held at Geneva in October and November 1921. There was a growing realization of her industrial importance, combined with a much greater readiness than had been displayed at Genoa to make allowance for her special circumstances.

Co-operation.

From all that has been said it will be apparent that throughout India there is a great need for a systematic effort towards the economic uplift both of the masses and of the middle classes. Probably the most powerful single agency for improving the conditions of Indian labour, both rural and urban is to be found in the co-operative movement. During the last decade, as has been pointed out in previous reports, co-operation has made rapid strides in India. Agricultural societies are flourishing; they deal with the joint sale of agricultural produce, with the joint production and sale of implements and manures, and with such other useful purposes as irrigation and consolidation of holdings. Their work has spread into many channels which bring practical benefits not only to their members but also to the surrounding locality, through the opening of dispensaries and schools, the introduction of improved methods of cultivation, the improvement of communications and the like. Public confidence in the movement shows obvious signs of growing. This confidence is likely to increase under the new system of Government; for co-operation is now a transferred subject in charge of the Ministerial section of the reformed provincial administrations. Its direction is thus entirely in Indian hands, which command alike its widespread organisation and its enormous potentialities for national uplift. That the position occupied by the co-operative movement is strong and well-grounded, is obvious from the history of the year 1921. During the period under review, the whole political atmosphere of the country was in large degree antagonistic to the purposes and ideals that underlie co-operation. Contempt for authority and disregard for law, increasing capriciousness combined with the teaching that material prosperity is useless and progress is a delusion, have produced in certain quarters a state of mind which is in every particular opposed to the principles and objects of economic co-operation. But the continued progress of the movement, despite these unfavourable conditions, reveals clearly the extent to which it has taken root in the country. Almost everywhere in India there has been a considerable growth in the number of co-operative societies. In Bombay, the number of agricultural credit societies has grown from 1,993 to 2,264, while the working capital has increased from £1·08 millions (Rupees 108 lakhs) to £1·33 millions (Rupees 133 lakhs). The owned capital of these societies now amounts to over Rs. 40 lakhs, of which Rs. 30·7 lakhs consists of members'

Progress during 1921-22.

Bombay.

deposits. The growth of non-credit agricultural societies has been less rapid, the total number standing at 118 as against 98 in the preceding year. But there has been a remarkable extension of the activities of the Co-operative Central Institute, which may be termed the nucleus of progress in co-operation throughout the Bombay Presidency. The training classes of the Institute attracted large numbers of college students and the general public. The instruction given herein is particularly valuable since it improves the work of the secretaries of co-operative societies. Public interest in co-operation is proved by the fact that in addition to a Provincial Co-operative Conference which was held in Bombay in September 1920, eight District Conferences were held during the year 1920-21. Night schools, opened for adult members of co-operative societies through the generosity of Sir Vithaldas Thackersey have already produced promising results. At the close of the year under review, 29 such schools were working, and funds have been promised for 11 more. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the recent progress of the movement in Bombay has been the introduction of cheques and discount business among co-operative banks. The aim recently set before the movement has been to provide those banking facilities which are necessary to every civilized country and which so far hardly exist in India outside of the Presidency towns. If the co-operative movement is able to erect, in every considerable town and in every district, banks which will help the artisan, the small professional man and the small trader, and which will at the same time, by popularizing credit and the instruments of credit, abolish the present difficulties of conveying money from place to place, an enormous boon will have been conferred on the country. There will also be the additional advantage of preserving the profits of the banking business to the general public instead of handing them to the capitalist and the financier. In Madras during the period under review there was a net increase of 1,051 in the number of agricultural credit societies, raising the total to 5,207. The total working capital increased from £1·57 millions to £1·84 millions. Principally on account of the bad season, the net profit earned by the societies showed a decline from £0·21 million to £0·19 million. The number of agricultural non-credit societies rose slightly during the year, and several of them did good work and earned fair profits. As illustration of the way in which the co-operative movement is working in Madras for the benefit of particular classes, mention may be made of the fact that during the period under review there

Madras.

were 32 weavers' societies, 16 building societies, 2 printing societies, 2 labour societies, 1 society for managing a hostel for students, 1 for the supply of stationery and other articles to students, and lastly 1 motor bus society. Steady progress continued to be made in the formation of societies for the depressed and backward classes, such 253 societies having been registered during the year. In Bengal, the total number of societies of all kinds increased from 5,408 at the beginning of the year to 6,366 at its close. Despite the persistent demand for new societies, a considerable degree of caution had to be exercised on account of the difficulties of the year. The recorded progress indeed seems to have been the maximum consistent with financial security and the maintenance of adequate supervision, the total working capital of the societies having risen from £2·8 millions to £3·3 millions. Of this sum the societies and their members provided for 46 per cent. Agricultural societies rose from 4,920 to 5,787, and their membership from 147,923 to 162,287. As in the other provinces, the development of agricultural non-credit societies was slower, although excellent work was done. One such society erected a godown to store 1,400 tons of paddy which members had hitherto been forced to sell at a sacrifice for want of accommodation. The number of irrigation societies in Western Bengal has increased to 7, while several others are in process of organization. The Naogaon Ganja Cultivators' Society, to which reference is made in last year's report, continues to be in a very strong position. It made larger grants for education and sanitation, and an allotment of Rs. 60,000 for a demonstration farm. Unfortunately, in Bengal, as elsewhere, a certain amount of internal dissension grew up even among the most prosperous societies through the efforts of the emissaries of non-co-operation. Before the end of the year, however, the majority of the resulting differences were composed, and the co-operative movement in Bengal continues to advance in practically every part of the province. Public interest, and in particular, the interest of the landholders, has shown a marked increase, and many important landlords have rendered valuable assistance both financially and by a display of practical interest. The Bengal Co-operative Organization Society which is doing useful work as a bureau of information and advice on co-operative matters, devoted particular attention to the solution of problems peculiar to Calcutta. As a result of the activities of its housing committee, the organization of a co-operative housing society has now become a matter of practical politics. In the Punjab, notwithstanding the unfavourable

Bengal.

conditions of the year, there was every sign of an increasing interest in co-operative work on the part of the people. The number of agricultural societies increased from 6,831 to 8,014, with a total membership of 214,411. The working capital also rose from £1·8 millions to £2·2 millions, although, as in many other places, there was a decrease in the recovery of outstanding debts due primarily to the bad agricultural year. The organization of credit societies had to be restricted on account of the overwhelming demand, but this side of the movement was undoubtedly of great service in affording financial assistance to members. The formation of 4 new central banks and of 13 new banking unions marks the progress of co-operative institutions. Among the most interesting items in the progress of the movement in the Punjab is the Jhang mortgage bank. This institution is now in its second year of existence and has already secured a considerable measure of success. It has hitherto advanced Rs. 73,000, and has helped in the redemption of 820 acres of land together with a large number of trees. As mentioned in last year's report, the Punjab can boast the organization of special societies for the consolidation of those scattered holdings which cause so much loss to Indian agriculture. There are at present 60 such societies with over 1,600 members, while 31 new societies have been formed but are not yet registered. Re-partition has been completed in 44 villages, with the result that 1,500 members have agreed to consolidate more than 6,000 acres. The number of fields has been reduced from over 10,000 to just over 2,000, while the average size of holdings has been increased from three-fourths of an acre to four acres. In addition to these interesting lines of activity, nearly 100 arbitration societies have been formed with the object of preventing unnecessary litigation. Night schools have also been opened to teach the elements of education to adult members of co-operative societies, and mutual assistance has been organized in such matters as silt clearance in inundation canals, land reclamation and the like.

Punjab.

In the United Provinces, the Co-operative department steadily adhered to the policy of making no advance without being fully assured that the ground in front was firm. No primary societies were registered until their organization had been carefully decided on the spot by one of the officers of the department. Notwithstanding this cautious policy and an unsatisfactory agricultural season, the year witnessed the formation of no fewer than 883 societies, the largest number hitherto registered in a year. Of these, 827 were agricultural credit societies, a figure which brought the total

United Provinces.

number of units of this character up to 4,223. Their working capital increased from £0·48 million to £0·57 million. Non-agricultural co-operation also showed an extensive development during the year, and a fairly large number of non-credit societies were formed. Steady attempts are being made to arrange for the better marketing of the products of co-operative societies; and in order to exhibit such manufactures as can to greater advantage be turned out by co-operative methods, an industrial and agricultural exhibition was held at Lucknow in January 1921 with great success. In the Central Provinces, the effects of unfavourable agricultural conditions were felt so severely that it was necessary for Government to step in to the help of the movement. During the year 1920, the number of credit societies had greatly increased, and the average loan required by each member had been much larger owing to the high level of prices and other causes. Accordingly, just before the beginning of 1921, the provincial bank had exhausted its fluid resources and was unable to finance the central banks. A crisis arose owing to severe crop failure and subsequent famine. In order to restore public confidence, Government arranged a cash credit to provide the banks with fluid resources, and also provided a sum of Rs. 19 lakhs to be utilized in giving loans to members of societies. The dislocation of co-operative business caused by the failure of the provincial bank to supply capital has therefore been definitely tided over, while a strong Committee has been appointed to consider the whole organisation of the co-operative credit movement and to make recommendations for its improvement. Despite the trials through which it has passed, the movement even during the period under review has shown considerable progress. The membership of societies has increased from 145,750 to 156,787 while the total working capital has risen from £2·5 millions to £2·99 millions. There were 34 registered agricultural societies for purposes other than credit, including six for the purchase and sale of agricultural implements, 25 for production and distribution of pure seed, 2 for cattle breeding, and one for ginning cotton. An interesting development in Berar takes the form of societies for the protection of crops. Wild pigs are the most common depredators, and pig-killing clubs have been organised to deal with them. One such club accounted for 155 pigs in the course of two years. Agricultural Associations and Seed Unions are also prominent in the Central Provinces. A very large quantity of improved seed has been distributed by co-operative societies acting in conjunction with the Agricultural Department. In Burma, the number

Central Provinces.

Burma.

of agricultural credit societies has risen from 3,319 to 3,704, and individual membership from 72,816 to 81,903. Among societies for production and sale, the Mahlaing co-operative ginning factory is reported to have done good work. It ginned the cotton and through a rise in price sold the lint for the cultivators, obtaining nearly double the price prevailing at the time when the cotton was first brought for ginning. A co-operative paddy mill has been registered, and another is being organized. In Bihar and Orissa the total membership of societies of all kinds has now reached 107,514, an increase of 11,422 over the figures of the previous year. The working capital of all societies has shown an even more rapid increase, now standing at £1·07 millions as against £0·82 million in the previous period. Agricultural credit societies working during the year numbered 3,247 as against 2,774. With their superior organization of guarantee unions and central banks, they are making steady progress in areas where the movement has for sometime been established and simultaneously are developing rapidly in new areas. Agricultural sale societies as distinct from credit societies are growing in importance every year, but there is still an inclination to expect large profits on the turn of the market rather than moderate profits from sound business methods. Of non-agricultural societies, those started for the benefit of ministerial officers and managed by them have again shown sound management. The development of peoples' banks, contractors' societies and co-operative stores of various kinds show the wide scope that there is for the activities of the Department in benefiting all classes of the community. Among the most interesting of these may be mentioned the weavers' co-operative societies and the fishermen's societies on the Orissa coast. The condition of the Orissa fishermen was notoriously miserable until the introduction among them of the co-operative movement. They had not even boats and nets of their own, they could obtain no advances, and were accordingly unable in any way to better their condition. But since the introduction of the co-operative movement, they have earned a name for punctuality in repayment of their loans and have been able to provide themselves with their own boats and nets. They readily sell their large catches to Calcutta merchants who flock to the spot with ice boxes and pay good prices. Unfortunately, considerable local resentment has been aroused by the consequent rise in the price of fish, and by the subtraction of the best of the catch for Calcutta consumption. The fishermen have been harrassed by many forms of social boycott, from which it is

Bihar and Orissa.

necessary to protect them. But the change in their economic condition within the short space of two years represents a striking testimony to the power of the co-operative movement. In Assam the number of Agricultural Credit Societies rose from 412 to 494 during the period under review, with a membership of 21,638. The working capital rose from £0·05 million to £0·06 million. There are no societies for agricultural production or for the sale of produce.

Assam.

Among lines of progress to which organised effort such as that embodied in the co-operation movement will in the near future undoubtedly contribute in increasing degree, is one most necessary to the well-being of the Indian people, *ivz.*, Sanitation.

Sanitation.

In successive reports mention has been made of the difficulties attending the task of sanitary reform in India. The meagre resources of the administration have hitherto been able to accomplish but little in the face of widespread popular apathy among 270 million persons. What is required is the growth of a humanitarian and altruistic spirit, which alone can secure the enlistment of the enthusiasm rather than passive acquiescence of the educated classes in the task of uplifting the sanitary condition of the masses. The problem is in many respects educational, and its solution must necessarily be slow. For it will be almost impossible to safeguard India from a heavy death-rate punctuated by disastrous epidemics until a change can be introduced into the prevailing ideas regarding hygiene. It is not merely the widespread poverty of the Indian masses which lends sanitation in India its peculiar difficulties. Far more serious is the tenacious adherence even of the educated classes to social customs and observances often diametrically opposed to the dictates of hygiene. It is indeed difficult to imagine how the public health of India can be satisfactory until the fundamental conditions which govern it have been improved. Only with the amelioration of the social and economic status of the masses, in conjunction with an increase in the receptivity of the classes to new ideas, will the lamentable backwardness in hygiene be radically remedied. So revolutionary a process cannot be accomplished in a day; although the recent improvement in the economic position of the lower classes, if too modest to satisfy the reformer or convert the pessimist may fairly be regarded as a foundation for better things. Through town and

Difficulties of the Problem.

country alike there is urgent need of implanting the seeds of elementary sanitary knowledge. The value of fresh air, pure water and wholesome food, as well as the elements of domestic and personal hygiene have to be brought into the every day life of the population. The masses unfortunately still attribute diseases to the visitation of various Goddesses, and when sickness occurs, take steps to appease offended Deities rather than to disinfect their water-supply and to prevent the contamination of their articles of food. It is in the Indian home, and particularly among Indian women, that a better knowledge and a keener appreciation of sanitary principles are most urgently required. And here it is that the old conservative forces exercise their strongest opposition to the introduction of new and more healthful practice. For work of this kind to be accomplished successfully, two things are essential. In the first place the administrative agency must enjoy the confidence of the people, and must work along lines in conformity with their mental processes. In the next place, it must operate in an atmosphere of genuine humanity and altruism, such as alone can supply the driving force necessary to overcome the dead weight of century-old inertia.

Sanitation and the Reforms.

There is unfortunately little reason to suppose that the transfer of Sanitation to popular control will usher in the millennium at an early date. When all allowances are made for financial stringency, it cannot be said that the Reformed Provincial Governments have thrown themselves enthusiastically into the struggle with disease. The daily press, however, shows that popular interest in the problems of sanitation is slowly increasing, which of itself is a good thing. One of the encouraging features of the period under review has been the increasing number of local associations who are taking part in sanitary work. Voluntary agencies have multiplied, and private generosity both in money and service increases.

While educated Indian opinion is showing itself gradually more responsive to the pressing requirements of public health, the steady fight against the diseases which afflict the country continues without intermission. The extermination of bubonic plague is now regarded as a matter of persistent and organised effort : but unfortunately, there has been retrenchment of expenditure on plague measures as a result of the introduction of ministerial control. This is probably due to diminished fear of a plague epidemic. Both in 1919 and 1920, there was a low mortality from this cause ; and the period under review has witnessed a con-

Fighting Disease.

siderable amelioration of the disease. The total mortality for the year shows a very great reduction; and during the 4 or 5 months of the hot weather, Northern India was free from cases of human plague. Unfortunately, the disease is carried over such gaps as this by the continuance of the infection among rats; and the last two months of the year showed that the infection still remains. In the meantime the localised nature of the outbreaks facilitates the task of the administration in dealing with this scourge. In those parts of India which are afflicted by Malaria special projects have of late been undertaken, and in Bengal in particular there has been a reduction of the death-rate in certain districts. So far as deaths from Malaria were concerned, the year on the whole was favourable. Although the usual amount of morbidity and mortality occurred in endemic centres, the dryer parts of India escaped. Unfortunately the great rise in the price of quinine which has taken place since the war has set back the very promising campaigns which have been carried for some years for placing quinine within the reach of the poor. In order to offset so far as possible the effect of the rise of prices, Government has opened up an area in Burma for a Chinchona plantation. Meanwhile, renewed efforts are being made to stamp out this pest. The Ministry of Public Health in Bengal has been struggling hard against the difficulties imposed by financial stringency. Conferences have been held by district boards throughout the affected districts to formulate anti-malarial measures and schemes of water-supply, and to draw up schemes of finance. A malarial observatory to consider and correlate the various data has been established at Sonarpur in Bengal, and an additional malarial research officer has been sanctioned. Further, important anti-malarial sanitary schemes have been undertaken, and only await a more favourable financial situation to come to fruition. Towards the amelioration of leprosy, from which India like many Eastern countries, suffers, recent research has done much. The success of the treatment by injection with hydrocarpus and other oils has enabled the relief of leprosy to be placed upon a highly effective basis. Recent research indicates that leper asylums may be transformed into hospitals for treatment instead of being institutions for the isolation of sufferers. The noble work accomplished by the Mission to Lepers thus acquires an added significance, and if only public support be forthcoming in sufficient degree, many patients may be restored to their homes and to society.

Plague.

Malaria.

Leprosy.

Concerning cholera, the prospects are less hopeful; the year was a bad one. Outbreaks of exceptional severity occurred. As usual, the influence exerted by large concentrations of pilgrims at all the most holy places was very marked. The control of the disease should in theory be easy ; and where elaborate arrangements can be made, such as those carried out by the Bombay Government for the help of the pilgrim visiting the centres associated with the Sinhast fair, excellent results are achieved.

Cholera.

Small-pox.

Small-pox continues rife throughout the country, but except in the case of a virulent epidemic it is very difficult to persuade people to have their children vaccinated and almost impossible to get them to submit to re-vaccination. Further, the Non-co-operation movement has not left even these beneficial activities of Government unharmed, and in certain parts the anti-vaccination banner which some members of the educated classes have taken up from time to time, is now raised higher than ever, with the result that the number of inoculations during the year under review has shown a tendency for decrease. In India, research is not neglected. During the year under review, a School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, which has for some time been projected, was opened in Calcutta. A School of Tropical Medicine in connection with the Parel bacteriological laboratory has been under consideration in Bombay. The project for an Imperial Medical Research Institute to investigate the mass of problems which still await attention has been sanctioned. The Indian Research Fund Association is conducting important enquiries dealing with diseases such as hookworm, influenza, kala azar, and other endemics which oppress India. Prevention also continues to claim much thought. The proposals of the Committee recently appointed to deal with yellow fever have received the approval of Government and measures against the importation of this disease will be carried out as circumstances permit. In order to safeguard the introduction of dangerous diseases into India by sea, arrangements have been made for introduction of early notifications of outbreaks in countries possessing ports in maritime relations with India.

Research.

Infant Mortality.

Among the most pressing problems of India's health is that presented by the appalling infant mortality. It has been calculated that every year no fewer than 2 million Indian babies die, while many others survive only to grow weak and feeble from unhygienic surroundings during infancy. A note-

worthy feature of the period under review has been the further progress of the infant welfare movement, which owes much to the All-India Maternity and Child Welfare League initiated by Lady Chelmsford. In all the great centres of population, work is now being done for the training of midwives, for the instruction of mothers and for the care of babies. Training centres for Indian and Anglo-Indian women have been opened in order to spread the elements of infantile hygiene to other parts of India. Most hopeful sign of all, Indian ladies are beginning to interest themselves in this work in larger numbers. But such is the magnitude of the field, that consistent and widespread effort on a scale hitherto impossible must be undertaken, if any appreciable reduction is to be made in the appalling mortality of young children. The admirable work done year by year by the National Association for supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India, has been facilitated during the period now under review by the decision of the Legislative Assembly to grant an increased Government subsidy to the figure of £0·3 million.

Closely connected with the problems of sanitation, many of which, as we have seen, depend upon the domestic customs of the people, is the question of social reform. Probably in few spheres of human activity have democratic ideals encouraged by the war proved more beneficial than in the impetus afforded to social reform in India. The more characteristic problems of the country may be said to centre round the institution of caste, which, intimately bound up as it is with the structure of Hindu society, presents an obstacle almost insuperable to the penetration of modern ideas. Originally concerned with the preservation of ceremonial purity in social relations, the caste system has in course of ages developed into an institution which assigns inexorably to each individual his position and his duties in the structure of orthodox Hinduism. Not merely individuals, but whole classes of humanity, are thus subjected, through no fault of their own, to degrading and hereditary disabilities. Among the most difficult aspects of this problem is the elevation of the depressed classes or so called "untouchables" who form more than one-fifth of the total population. At present they are made to reside outside the city and the village. They are forbidden to draw water from public wells ; they are not permitted to enter the houses of people belonging to the touchable classes ; in some provinces they may not even move in public streets. They are denied the use of public temples and inns : their children are not generally admitted into the ordinary schools, and when admitted, are made to sit

Social Reform.

The "Untouchables."

apart from others. These disabilities extend to the minutest operations of daily life, so that a labourer or agriculturist belonging to the depressed classes is continually a loser in buying or selling through his inability to enter a shop or even to pass through the streets where shopkeepers dwell. Social ostracism so degrading has through centuries constituted a serious obstacle not only to self-help, but even to mere honest livelihood. Among the depressed classes are certain communities whose hereditary occupation is crime of one kind or another—theft, burglary, highway robbery or even assassination, combined in many instances with prostitution.

Welfare Work.

Towards the uplift of these unfortunate beings, whether belonging to the criminal tribes, or to the more respectable communities comprising other members of the depressed classes, the efforts of public and private organisations have been for some time directed. As related in the Reports for the past two years, local Governments have long laboured to improve their economic and educational status. Criminal tribes are concentrated into settlements, managed either by Government, or by some such organisation as the Salvation Army, whose work in this direction is beyond praise. Here they are reclaimed, subjected to kind but firm supervision, and assisted to gain a decent livelihood. Among the Panchamas and other depressed communities, official and voluntary agencies vie with one another in providing special educational facilities. In the United Provinces special district supervisors have been appointed for work among this section of the population; while substantial grants are given for the opening of new schools and the award of scholarships. Bombay has also appointed experimentally an inspecting officer in one division, and has sanctioned collegiate scholarships for these classes. The numbers under instruction are rising. Madras has adjusted fee rules to their needs, and now refuses to allow school buildings to be erected out of public funds unless the edifice is open to all sections of the community. In the last quarter of a century the number of Panchama pupils in public institutions of Madras has risen from 30,000 to well over 150,000; an increase of 400 per cent. It is moreover encouraging to notice that whereas in 1892 there were only eleven primary schools for girls of the depressed classes in the Madras Presidency, there are now 100. The work of the various Christian Missionary Societies in giving education to the Panchamas is beyond praise. They have over 3,500 schools with nearly 100,000 pupils. The pioneer work of the missions has not been confined to the

education of the depressed classes in their own schools. By resolute insisting that members of the depressed classes should be admitted t higher educational institutions under mission control, they have gr dually created a body of public opinion in favour of treating these class as fellow human beings. Excellent work is now being carried on by number of societies other than Christian. In Madras city, schools a maintained by the Theosophical Society, by the Depressed Class Mission, by the Brahmo Samaj, by the Social Service League and b other religious and philanthropic societies. Concurrently with th educational progress, slow though it is, among the depressed classes the Madras Presidency, the co-operative movement, which teaches th Panchama the virtues of thrift and self-respect and gives him a ambition in life, has made considerable advance. There are now ov 14,000 Panchama members of co-operative societies, nearly three tim the number that existed five years ago.

Obstacles.

Unfortunately, what stands in the way of the depressed classes mo than anything else, is age-long social traditio observed by the great majority of the cas community. The Administration can legislate to its heart's conten but until the social sense of the Indian people advances to a level wh entails the disappearance of these heritages from a more primitive ag many of the most galling disabilities under which the outcastes lab must necessarily persist. Reform will come most speedily, not from t efforts of philanthropists, but from organised self-assertion on the part

Self-Help.

the depressed classes themselves. During t period under review, there have been hope signs of advance in this direction. The improving economic position labour has benefited the depressed as well as the other classes: has sti lated them to initiative; has inspired them with resentment. Of la there has been a notable tendency to combination amongst them. 1921, and again at the beginning of 1922, conferences have been held representative members of the depressed classes gathered from all o India. The proceedings of these meetings reveal very clearly the p gress towards self-expression which is being made by the leaders of community. A fixed determination is enunciated towards political, soc economic and moral uplift; combined with a steady resolve to res the invasion of those social and natural rights to which as human be they consider themselves entitled. One remarkable feature of th gatherings has been a strong expression of gratitude towards the Br administration for its impartial treatment of all classes, combined w

criticism against the attitude of social intolerance assumed by certain members of the extreme nationalist party.

Changing Conditions.

Indeed a great change seems coming over all the lower castes, as well as the depressed classes. Their traditional meekness is disappearing; they are beginning to recognise and to avenge social tyranny. As we noticed in a previous chapter, there has been a tendency on their part to boycott the upper castes, and, in particular, the Brahmins, in certain parts of the country. And among all the events political as well as social, of the period under review, there is probably none of greater importance, actual and potential, than the capture of the Reformed Legislative Council of Madras by the Non-Brahmin party. For the first time in the history of India the lower castes of Madras have asserted themselves against the intellectual oligarchy of the upper, and have seized political power in their own hands. The significance of a revolution so momentous can scarcely be gauged; but its influence upon the progress of India towards democratic institutions must inevitably be profound. It seems scarcely too much to say that the first bulwark of caste-domination in political matters has been stormed as a result of the recent constitutional changes. The example of Madras cannot fail to exert an increasing influence upon the efforts of the lower castes and depressed classes elsewhere in India.

Future Prospects.

The upward path will be slow and difficult, for the inertia of centuries has to be overcome. In many even of the reformed legislatures, a solid band of conservative opinion is always ready to oppose progressive measures with the cry of "religion in danger." During the period under review there has none the less been a healthy awakening of the public conscience in the matter of untouchability; although how far precept will be translated into practice remains, unfortunately, somewhat doubtful. The removal of this curse has been placed in the forefront of the non-co-operation programme; and Mr. Gandhi has caused consternation in the orthodox camps by his slashing denunciations of the inhuman treatment meted out to the depressed classes. While he himself remains a stalwart supporter of the caste system, some of his followers, notably Mr. V. J. Patel, go much farther, and would sweep away, if they could, the whole structure. If Fate should direct the diversion, into the channels of social reform, of even a proportion of the energy so lavishly expended upon other items of the non-co-operation movement, the advance of

more liberal ideas cannot but be expedited, provided always that the forces of reaction are not stimulated to corresponding strength by the headlong tactics which have thwarted the progress of reform in such sphere as temperance.

Other Problems of Social Life.

The social problems of India are by no means confined to the lower or depressed classes. Among the middle and upper classes the existing social life contains many features which are repugnant to the reformer. Denunciations, for example, of the seclusion of women behind the *purdah* have made their appearance in the public press even more frequently in 1921 than in 1920. And it cannot be denied that the last few years have witnessed an increasing emancipation of Indian women from the restrictions under which they have for centuries laboured. The progress is very slow; for the *purdah* system is considered fashionable; and no sooner does a class of society which has not hitherto observed this custom, rise in the economic scale, than the seclusion of women is gradually introduced as being something which is a hall-mark of respectability. But the growing interest displayed by upper and middle class Indian ladies in political and social questions, their increasing prominence on the platform and in the press: their zeal in the cause of temperance, infant welfare and philanthropic activi-ities, must be taken as the dawn of a new era: and the fact that the number of women who take part in public life is still very small affords no reason for questioning its significance. Unfortunately, there is still to be found in many quarters, and those not such as can be termed ultra-conservative, an opinion unfavourable both to the emancipation of women from the *purdah* and to their education. But the tide of opinion seems moving steadily if slowly, in the direction favour-able to progress. Both Hindu and Moslem ladies in increasing numbers are contenting themselves with wearing a long veil in public, while in political and social gatherings the proportion of seats reserved for women is increasing.

Emancipation of Women.

During the year 1921, there have been encouraging symptoms, as already pointed out, of growing popular interest in social reform. Much prominence has been given in the Indian press to pronouncements upon questions connected with this topic: and an increasing amount of pro-paganda has been carried on both from the platform and in the news-papers. The solid and beneficent activities of such societies as the Ser-

vants of India, and the Bengal Social Service League continue to increase; while the number of such organisations augments year by year.

Voluntary Work. These societies carry on welfare work both in the towns and in the rural areas; and relief work in times of public calamity. They impart sanitary education by leaflets and lectures, and they open schools. Among the most valuable work performed by voluntary agency of this type is certainly that of the various societies which exist for work among women. Mention was made last year of the Bhagini Samaj, which has been in existence for some five years and has already 50 centres in Gujarat, all occupied with female education and the elevation of the status of women. Considerable stimulus has been given to these voluntary agencies by the popular interest in social reform to which reference has already been made. It is very greatly to be hoped that the leaders of the extreme wing of the nationalist party will not confine themselves merely to the passing of pious resolutions, but will direct the energies of those who accept their guidance towards unobtrusive and business-like activities such as characterise the many beneficent voluntary associations of India.

In the preceding paragraphs, a brief outline has been given of some of the more outstanding and more characteristic tasks which await the Indian social reformer.

There remain to be considered two social problems of a character unfortunately not confined to India—the problem of drink and the problem of drugs.

Drink and Drugs. The drink problem, as Westerners visualise it, is almost unknown in India save in those few places where heavy concentrations of industrial workers occur in congested conditions. Throughout the country side and in the smaller towns, while there is too much drinking to please the social reformer, the figures of average consumption are extremely moderate as compared with those of any other country in the world. The per capita excise revenue, which includes the State's profits from drink and drugs combined, varies, at the 2*s* equivalent of the rupee, in different parts of India from 7½*d*. (5 annas) in Bihar to 4*s*. 3*d*. (Rs. 2-2-0) in Bombay. Between these two extremes come 9*d*. (6 annas) in Bengal and the United Provinces; 1*s*. 1½*d*. (9 annas) in the Punjab; 1*s*. 10½*d*. (15 annas) in Burma; 2*s*. (One rupee) in the Central Provinces and Assam; and 2*s*. 6*d*. (Re. 1-4-0) in Madras. The

policy of Government in the matter of drink and drugs is to bring the traffic under strict control and to derive the maximum revenue from the minimum consumption. Temptation to those who do not drink is minimised, and excess is discouraged among those who do. To the furtherance of this policy, all considerations of revenue are absolutely subordinate. Government heavily penalizes illicit manufacture and consumption, and endeavours to restrict the habitual consumer to liquor shops instead of allowing him to employ illicit sources. The control which Government thus obtains over the drink traffic enables hours to be shortened, houses to be reduced in number, liquor to be reduced in strength, and temperance propaganda to be carried on effectively. The Indian liquor shop bears not the least resemblance to the inn or saloon of Western countries. It is situated as a rule on the outskirts of the town; it is extremely unattractive both in inward and outward appearance; and is calculated to serve the needs merely of those who are habitual consumers. Moreover, Indian liquor shops are comparatively few and far between. In the case of the Central Provinces, for example, which stands roughly midway between the extremes of excise revenue per head of the population, there is only one liquor shop for every 3,415 persons and for every 24 square miles. In the same region the consumption of pure alcohol or its equivalent per hundred of the population is only 4½ gallons per annum. A study of the excise figures of the different provinces shows plainly the honesty of Government in its professions to reduce the consumption, and the success of the policy which it is at present pursuing. In the United Provinces, while the increase in excise revenue from alcoholic liquor during the decennium ending 1920-21 was 52 per cent., the consumption decreased during the period by no less than 26 per cent. In Madras, while the total excise revenue has risen during the last ten years by 81 per cent. the consumption per hundred of population has been almost stationary. There are however peculiar difficulties in the temperance problem in India, arising from the fact that the sources of illicit supply are far more accessible than in any European country. In South India, and for the matter of that, in many districts of Northern India, liquor can be had from almost any palm-tree with no more skill than is required to cut an incision and with no more apparatus than a knife and a toddy pot. In a country where so large a proportion of the lower or labouring classes are accustomed to the use of

Government Policy.

Its Success.

Difficulties.

liquor, and where every man can, so to speak, have his beer tap in his own back garden, the mere closure of shops can have little appreciable effect in stopping recourse to alcohol. In the large concentrations of industrial labour, the situation is somewhat different. In Bombay city, for example, where in the last official year, 4½ million people consumed about 1¾ times as much country spirit as the 11½ million people in the rest of the Presidency, Government is in a position to take comparatively drastic steps to meet the evil. From early in 1922, the Ministry of Excise proposes arbitrarily to reduce consumption by limiting the amount of liquor which will be issued. As compared with the year 1920-21, supplies will be shortened by 5 per cent. It is also proposed to reduce the strength of the liquor issued. Hours are to be limited; and shops are to be forbidden to sell except for consumption on the premises. But the circumstances in which Government can intervene effectually in manner so radical are, as will be gathered from the preceding paragraphs, confined to the larger towns. There is therefore much room throughout India for volunteer effort in the direction of temperance. Excellent work has for years been done by Christian Missionary Societies, the Y.M.C.A., and indigenous philanthropic bodies. These adopt the only course of action calculated to result in a permanent improvement of the situation, namely the removal, not of the source of licit supply but of the desire for alcohol. Unfortunately, during the year under review, a considerable set-back has been given to genuine progress by the violent conduct of those who professed to carry out the orders of Mr. Gandhi. Throughout India, the non-co-operators and other rash adherents of the temperance movement managed to interfere seriously with the business of the liquor sellers. Pickets were placed around shops and drinkers subjected to various forms of insult and degradation. They were excommunicated from their caste, deprived of the services of barbers and washermen, beaten, garlanded with shoes, tied to poles, or driven through the streets on the backs of donkeys with their faces to the tails. The tangible effect of this misguided energy was to excite popular reprobation not against the habit of drinking, but against the habit of buying drink from Government shops. In certain cases, incredible as it may seem, ignorant persons were informed that, after the ruin of British power had been accomplished, they would be in a position to brew their own drink without hindrance. Hence, during the period under review, while Government excise revenue fell off seriously in certain parts of India, there is little

Voluntary Temperance Effort.

reason to believe that the total consumption of liquor by the population diminished to any considerable extent. From certain provinces, indeed, it is reported that illicit drinking has grown to a height unknown of recent years.

Drugs.

While the drink problem has excited considerable attention in India during the period under review, the problem of drugs and particularly the use of opium, has come in for considerable attention from critics outside the country. The consumption of opium and hemp derivatives excites little reprobation in India, provided that the use of these drugs is not carried to immoderate lengths. Indeed, the whole position of opium in particular is so different in India and in Western countries that a word of explanation is required. The appreciation of the peculiar characteristics of the opium question in India is unfortunately hindered by the great and increasing literature emanating from well-meaning and philanthropic people in other countries. Much of this literature is partisan and unbalanced, being written by those who have no first-hand experience of the Indian position. And the fact that the Government of India is directly connected, for administrative convenience, with the opium trade, has led to wild accusations being brought against it. Indeed, that Government has been accused in some quarters of corrupting souls and ruining bodies for its own selfish purposes both in India, China and elsewhere. The broad facts of the opium question are in outline these. The soil of most parts of India will produce the opium poppy. The population of India had habituated itself for many centuries before the arrival of the British to the consumption of opium in small quantities. The vast majority of the people connect this drug, and undoubtedly to some extent justifiably, with certain medical properties. They have used it for many years on ceremonial occasions; they cannot and will not be broken of the habit suddenly. The total consumption per head is very small indeed; for opium is rarely smoked in India but is employed as a household remedy and as a refreshment on ceremonial occasions. As in the case of drink, the policy of Government is to control the trade in such a way as to ensure its most effective regulation, and to prevent it from passing into the hands of the type of persons with which it would readily if uncontrolled, become associated. For over a century, Government has been engaged in the gradual acquisition of control over the production, transit and sale of the drug throughout the continent. This has

Opium.

Opium in India.

been done by the practical concentration of the cultivation, so far as British India is concerned, within restricted areas; by the discontinuance of cultivation in many of the Indian States as the outcome of negotiations; and by the inclusion of the different provinces in the general system as the necessity for regulation became manifest. The success of this policy is proved by the fact that, while the revenue from opium steadily rises, production and consumption steadily decline decade by decade. Rising prices and restricted supply are gradually causing it to be used less and less for ceremonial hospitality or personal indulgence, and are tending to restrict its consumption to purposes more strictly medicinal. A typical example of this process is found in the figures for the Madras Presidency. In 1911-12, the consumption of opium was 41·7 thousand seers, producing to the State a revenue of £0·13 million. In 1920-21, the consumption had declined to 36·2 thousand seers while the revenue had risen to £0·23 million. But it must be remembered that the Government of India does not control the whole country. There remain the Indian States. By negotiation, certain Indian States have been brought into line with Government policy regarding the production of opium; but while no opium produced within their territory can pass into British India except under permit, the Government of India can exercise no effective regulation regarding their production of opium for internal consumption. To attempt to enforce any policy of suppressing or restricting the cultivation of opium in Indian States, apart from any arrangements which may be entered into under Treaty obligations, would mean an interference with their internal administration such as the Government of India have no power to exercise either by prescriptive or by Treaty rights. The policy of Government so far as the consumption of opium in India is concerned must be counted definitely successful. The world however is far more interested in the question of the export of Indian opium to other countries. Attention has been directed to this matter not merely by philanthropists of many different lands, but also by the League of Nations itself. Here again, there is considerable misapprehension of the real position. People forget that India is only one of the four great and several small, opium producing countries of the world. Of these, Persia and Turkey stand outside the Hague Convention altogether; while China, to assist whose emancipation from the drug evil India sacrificed a former revenue of £4 millions a year, now produces something like 70 per cent. of the

Government Control.

The Indian States.

Export of Opium.

world's total supply. The fact is that from the year 1915 the Government of India have continuously pursued the policy of endeavouring to supply opium direct to the Governments of consuming countries in substitution for sales by public auction. Last year about three-fourths of the total exports were made direct to such Governments. No obligations are imposed to take a minimum quantity and the Government of India on occasions have supplied less than the quantity required. Negotiations are already on foot for direct contracts with the remaining large importers of Indian opium, which include Japan, Portugal and France. India, indeed, exports no opium to any country which prohibits import; she exports no opium in excess of the quantities which the Government of the consuming country desires to admit; and she has in practice voluntarily placed a limit on the total exports from India irrespective of what the particular demands may be. That there is considerable misconception regarding this attitude was shown by the proceedings of the second Assembly of the League of Nations. At its first session, the Assembly had recommended to the Council the appointment of an advisory committee to make suggestions regarding the more effective execution of the Hague Convention. At the second session, the committee proposed the appointment of a Board of Enquiry which would investigate and report on the quantity of opium required for strictly medicinal purposes and thus should enable the League ultimately to restrict the cultivation of opium to this amount. But the Indian delegates protested, in that the recommendation took no account of the fact that in several countries the use of centuries sanctions the employment of opium in circumstances which traditional empiricism fully justifies. They further pointed out, that India was the one important opium-producing country which had rigorously observed, and even improved upon, the recommendations of the Hague Convention. The Indian view was that the more effective observance of the terms of that Convention should be for the present the object of the League's efforts; but that if an enquiry was to be launched, its scope should be extended so as to include all legitimate uses of the drug. This view made a great impression upon the audience and finally prevailed.

Rigid Control.

The League of Nations.

From all that has been said in the preceding pages of this chapter, it will be realised that the uplift of the Indian people, economic, physical and moral, really resolves itself into a question of education. Without education, the

Importance of Education.

labourer, whether rural or urban, will continue poor and ignorant, while such exertions towards self-help as he may attempt will be misdirected and costly to the community. Without education among women, hygienic progress among the masses is impossible, and social reform in great measure a delusion. India's educational problems, framed as they are upon a gargantuan scale, must find their solution writ proportionately large. Expenditure to a figure hitherto undreamed must be faced courageously and speedily, for without education, India will be confronted in no long time with that supreme peril of modern states, an uninformed democracy. Indeed from almost every point of view, education remains the prime question in India to-day. And among all those nation-building activities which have been transferred to Indian control and direction as a result of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, there is none more vital both for the present and for the future of India, than the education of her people to an enlightened citizenship.

The Educational Position.

In the last two reviews of the Moral and Material Progress of India, emphasis was laid upon the unsatisfactory educational position of the country. That situation may be described in a very few words. Although the period under review has witnessed an increase of more than 170,000 in the number of pupils in British India, there are still only 8·4 millions in all the educational institutions put together. That is to say, only 3·42 per cent. of the population is under instruction, this figure being made up of 5·55 cent. males and 1·18 per cent. of the females. And while expenditure has increased, the total sum devoted to education in India during the year 1920-21 amounted to only £16·77 millions (Rs. 16·77 crores). About 2·5 per cent. of the population is enrolled in primary schools, and less than 3 per cent. is undergoing elementary instruction of any kind. In secondary schools on the other hand 0·5 per cent of the population is under instruction,* an abnormal figure comparing very remarkably with the 0·6 per cent. which has been estimated as the pre-war figure in Great Britain. Considering that the female population of the secondary schools is very small, it would seem that if the male population alone be reckoned, no less than 0·9 per cent. is to be found in the secondary schools—a proportion far greater than the corresponding figure for England and Wales, and approximately equal to that of Germany before the war. In University education, the percentage of the Indian population undergoing instruction is no less than 0·025 per cent., which, considering that

* This figure includes pupils in the primary departments of secondary schools.

here again the female population may almost be eliminated from reckoning, compares remarkably well with the 0·054 of England and Wales. As was mentioned in last year's report, an examination of the proportion of the college-going population to the total population of single tracts like Bengal, indicates that with a population approximately that of the United Kingdom, the proportion of the educated classes who are taking full-time university courses is in such tracts almost ten times as great as in England.

Indian Education Top-heavy.

There are thus good grounds for the criticism, so frequently directed against Indian education in the press, that its structure is top-heavy. The lower classes are largely illiterate, while the middle classes who constitute the bulk of the *intelligentsia* are in point of numbers at least educated to a pitch equal to that of countries whose social and economic conditions are far more highly developed. The reasons for this peculiar situation must be sought in history; but in the main they resolve themselves into the statement that the total educational funds, being small, have been concentrated upon meeting the demands of those who perceive the benefits of education, rather than upon cultivating a desire for education where it does not at present exist. As might be expected from the abnormal distribution of education among the population of India, the form which it has actually assumed, reveals corresponding defects. Since it has been framed primarily with a view to meeting the demands of the *intelligentsia* it is of a predominantly literary type. Only 0·05 per cent. of the population is undergoing instruction in professional colleges and other institutions which provide technical training, as against over 3 per cent. which is found in non-technical institutions. Up to the present time the courses which have been most popular among the middle class have been literary, because they lead to Government employment, and are a preliminary to the pursuit of the legal profession. Fortunately there are indications that public opinion is becoming alive to the necessity of encouraging technical education; and it is hoped that in the future there will be a much needed expansion in this direction.

Three Principal Defects.

From the point of view of the educational expert there are three principal defects which determine the peculiar limitations of the Indian system. In the first place, properly trained teachers are sadly to seek. Out of a total of 209,000 teachers of vernacular in India, only 78,000 were trained at the end of the official year 1920-21. In the Anglo-Vernacular schools, out of a

total of 104,000 Anglo-Vernacular Teachers only 38,000 were trained, and only 12,000 possessed a degree. It is this condition of affairs which has produced a second defect in Indian education, namely that there is little incentive for men of the right sort to enter the teaching profession. Teachers are seriously handicapped by small remuneration and less repute, with the result that with honourable exceptions the profession is not popular among men of high capacity, and there are often obstacles preventing that enthusiasm which more favourable circumstances might evoke. In the third place, Indian education has hitherto been dominated by an examination system. Fortunately, there is reason to hope that this particular difficulty, which has exercised a paralysing blight upon true educational progress for many years, may before long be remedied as a result of the salutary recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission.

Need for National Education.

As will be seen from this brief statement, the educational situation with which India is faced is extremely serious. The only method by which the idea of nationhood can spread among her vast population, including as it does a multitude of diverse races, castes and creeds, is through a genuine system of national education, which shall enlist in the work of nation-building the generous emotions of Indian youths. Just as the United States of America has been compelled to direct her energies towards the "Americanisation" of the foreign elements which flock to her so readily, so on her own larger scale must India endeavour to focus towards a primary national ideal the secondary provincial ideals of various portions of her population. As has already been indicated, larger funds must at once be allocated to the work.

Finance.

For many years past, the demand for such allocation has figured prominently in the Indian press, but hitherto there has been little conception of the national sacrifice which is involved in the requisite effort. Out of her revenue of something over £180 millions (at the new ratio of the rupee) India is already spending £16·77 millions upon education, and inadequate as is this sum in proportion to the calls made upon it, it represents a fraction of her public resources which compares not unfavourably with that devoted by other countries to the same purpose. The trouble is that India is a poor land, and the section of her small revenue available for education is inadequate to the demands made upon it. However it is not easy to see how the figure can be substantially increased. As was pointed out in previous reports, there are many heavy charges upon

the resources of the country ; of which the most important are the defence of a long land frontier and the maintenance of law and order among great masses of a widely varying population. Vital as educational progress may seem, its foundations will sink in shifting sand unless there are certain pre-requisites to its existence. The stability of the administration and the security of the individual, whether from external aggression or from internal disorder, must first be achieved. It is charges for these ends that have hitherto crippled the efforts of administrators to set the educational structure of India upon a foundation sufficiently extensive for the requirements of the country. Everyone must hope that the Indian agencies henceforth in charge will be able to solve this problem. Conviction on their part of the necessity of a great educational campaign directed towards preaching the gospel of Indian nationhood, can alone awaken those upon whom the pecuniary sacrifices will fall to the benefits which will be derived both at present and in the future from such a project. The difficulty lies not merely in the magnitude but also in the urgency of the problem. If the funds cannot be found and the educational structure of India cannot expand in proportion to her needs, the realisation of responsible government, with all which that realisation implies in the way of national progress, may be long delayed. Nor is it merely necessary to consider the population of school-going age, of whom at present roughly two-thirds never make their way into an educational institution of any kind. A very large part of the education needed in India is adult education—education which will supply the great new electorates with some guidance in the use of the power which constitutional reforms have placed in their hands ; which will encourage them to effort on behalf of their own communities, and impel them to grapple with the poverty which now hangs like a miasma over so large a part of India. The field is vast and the workers few. Certain classes of adults are, it is true, being specially assisted. Soldiers profit greatly from the well-organised scheme of Army Education which is now beginning to function. Mill-hands and industrial employees find many persons willing to help them. Night schools are springing up in various parts of the country, philanthropic associations, among which special mention must be made of the Young Men's Christian Association, are labouring nobly. In this work, there is a great scope for the university extension movement, which might well provide an agency for adult education upon a scale adequate to the requirements of the future. Some such solution

Magnitude and Urgency of the Problem.

Adult Education.

of India's problems will unquestionably come in time, and with the rapid multiplication of new universities, of which an account will be given hereafter, its potentialities as a nation-building force can with difficulty be overestimated.* Reviewing the educational history of the year 1921-22, we find the principal event has been the transfer of education to the charge of Ministers responsible to the new Provincial Legislative Councils. Certain powers, which need not here be specified, remain with the Government of India, and European education is reserved for the Governors in Council. But speaking generally it is now left to the Legislative Councils by resolutions and budget votes as well as by other methods to determine the best method of adapting the educational system to the needs and circumstances of the various provinces. The reports of debates in the various local Councils show clearly the keenness of the interest excited in various aspects of education. Many resolutions have been acutely debated dealing with such subjects as the pay of teachers, the extension of primary education, the provision of vocational training, the modification of curricula and the medium of instruction. In certain provinces, notably Bihar and Orissa, and the Central Provinces, committees have been appointed to cover the field of primary and secondary education, or to advise the Minister on educational affairs. Generally speaking, however, education has not been transferred to the charge of one Minister in each province. In the United Provinces, for example, primary education is controlled by one Minister and higher education by another. In five provinces technical and industrial education are under the control of the Minister for Industries who is not also the Minister for Education. In other provinces, special training institutions for professions or public services, such as agricultural colleges, medical colleges, forest schools and Police training schools are in some cases not under the Minister of Education at all. This is the more to be regretted in that the report of the Calcutta University Commission, which, as was pointed out in previous volumes, marks an epoch in the investigation of India's educational problems, had strongly emphasised the desirability of bringing together all forms of educational activity within the purview of a "general staff", so that co-ordination and consistency of policy might be secured. It is to be hoped that this view of the question will before long commend itself

Education Popularly Controlled.

*Much of the succeeding matter is due to the Report of the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India.

to the Provincial Governments ; for no such Government can divest itself of responsibility for the elaboration of a policy embracing and co-ordinating all kinds of education.

Effects of Non-Co-operation.

Unfortunately, the stimulus to popular enthusiasm in matters educational which might have been supposed to follow the transfer of a subject so important to popular control, has been somewhat off-set by the attack launched on the educational system of the country as an integral part of the non-co-operation programme. It is impossible to establish precisely the effects of Mr. Gandhi's movement upon education in India, if only because the attack came in waves which were not simultaneous in all provinces. The political situation cannot be isolated from other causes, principally economic, that affect the attendance at schools and colleges, nor is it possible to say to what extent the effects of non-co-operation have been hidden from view by increase of pupils in particular localities or classes of schools. For this reason, the actual statistics do not afford a very accurate guide. They merely show that the total number of scholars in public institutions has increased during the year under review by 2 per cent. which compares unfavourably with the 3·7 per cent. for the previous year. Further analysis reveals that the increase in primary schools is 3·2 per cent. which is precisely the same as last year's figure. In English Arts Colleges and High and Middle schools, on the other hand, the percentage of decrease has been 8·6, 5·1 and 8·1 respectively as against increases of 3·3, 2·4, and 2 during last year. It would perhaps be safe to infer that the non-co-operation alone was responsible during the year for a substantial, though not an alarming, reduction in the enrolment of High and Middle Anglo-Vernacular schools and Arts Colleges.

Losses of Pupils.

Statistics would not justify any inference regarding the effect of non-co-operation on other classes of institutions. It is possible particularly in the case of boys' primary schools, that a substantial advance might have been recorded but for the movement. As regards the colleges and Anglo-Vernacular schools, while some provinces such as Madras, the United Provinces and the Punjab, report the recovery of the situation before the end of the year, other provinces, such as Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Burma and the Central Provinces record comparatively severe losses at its close.

Varying Seriousness.

The Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University in a statement laid before the Senate estimated that more than 47,000 pupils or 23 per cent. of the total number had disappeared from high schools between

July 1920 and July 1921; and that up to the 1st March 1921 there was a fall of 42 per cent. in the enrolment of the first and third year classes in arts colleges. These figures however illustrate the position of a province that was hard hit at about the time when the statistics were collected. "Generally speaking, the numerical losses affecting institutions have depended largely on relative efficiency. Certain Government institutions, such as the Presidency College, Calcutta, have weathered the storms with special credit." But in general it may be said that teachers of all grades in all classes of institutions deserve the greatest possible commendation. The number of political resignations has been relatively so small as to be quite insignificant. In face of the fiercest criticism and most extreme forms of pressure, the teaching profession has displayed on the whole most laudable firmness. "The attitude of its members is the more praiseworthy in that the attack came at a time when their position was essentially vulnerable. The year began, as we have seen, with financial difficulties consequent on a great increase in the cost of the necessaries of life, enhanced by a poor monsoon. Perhaps nowhere was the pinch more severely felt than in the ranks of those engaged in education, many of whom were living on salaries which bordered on the minimum necessary for existence. Especially was this the case in non-Government institutions both aided and unaided. In many districts of the United Provinces, for example, teachers' unions were being formed to enforce demands for better pay, while the general unrest which had spread over the whole of India, unsettling men's minds, affected the educational community also. The time was therefore most opportune for the leaders of non-co-operation and one can only marvel that the net result of their efforts was so insignificant." They had little success, moreover, in their attempts to capture schools and colleges.

Effect on Teachers.

The withdrawal of recognised institutions from all forms of Government control and aid, which was one item of the non-co-operation programme, was probably very small during the year. Statistics show that there is no marked fall in the number of institutions under any head except English middle schools, where the decrease is possibly due to changes in classification. Very strong influence was undoubtedly brought to bear on many of those larger institutions under predominantly Indian management which depend mainly on their fee income. That these attacks have for the most part failed is due largely to the excellent and inspiring example set by the Trustees of the Aligarh

Subversion of Institutions.

College, who early in the year 1920-21 successfully resisted an attempt to capture the college for the Khilafat movement and insisted on adherence to aims and injunctions of the founder. Attacks on the Benares University and on important colleges in other parts of India were also frustrated. Privately managed institutions have on the whole resisted the attack with considerable success, though some of them have suffered such heavy financial losses that their existence has been in jeopardy. This is particularly true in the case of schools. In the generality of colleges there has been no such trouble, since fees are usually levied for the term or year in advance. In unaided colleges, where this procedure is less universal, there has been a fall in fee income while in unaided high schools the receipts from this source have fallen more than 12 per cent. Such institutions can least bear a sudden strain on their finances and there is no doubt that the assault on privately managed institutions has resulted in a postponement of the sorely needed increase of teachers' salaries, thereby setting back the educational clock. In this connection it should be noticed that the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University estimated a total loss under the head of examination fee income amounting to no less than [illegible] million; and if this estimate is even approximately correct, the financial position of the greatest educational body in India must be gravely affected.

Effect of Non-Co-operation upon the Rising Generation.

Of great significance from the point of view of education generally is the influence exerted upon the students by non-co-operation doctrines. As we have attempted to show in previous chapters, "there was something in the non-co-operation movement which appealed to most diverse types of mind. The call to national service and self-sacrifice found a quick response among the best, so quick as to be unintelligible to those who do not realise the emotional background of student life and the absence of a strong sense of humour. To another class of temperament the political situation presented possibilities of romance and adventure that irradiated a colourless existence." As is pointed out, "picketing and processions were as irresistible to such minds as a bumpsupper and a 'rag' to Oxford undergraduates. Yet other students became for the first time conscious that they were wasting their time upon a kind of education not suited to their needs and leading them at its best to an office stool. It is greatly to the credit of the teaching staff that these feelings, so natural in themselves but affording such excellent material for unscrupulous agitators, should have found expression so comparatively seldom in violent or offensive action. There is

however, a darker side to the picture. Discipline has been affected, and almost every province reports an increase in strikes and serious offences. Concentration upon studies has been greatly impeded and those who have persisted in academic work have been subjected to an intensive nervous strain which may affect their future career. This strain has been even more noticeable in those who have returned to college after a few months of crowded life with the agitators. Apart from the activity shown in criticism and defiance, there has been a general apathy and listlessness in regard to studies, games and college life."

National Education.

The effects of the non-co-operation movement upon Indian education, which we have hitherto examined, have been plainly negative. We must now investigate the reality of what is sometimes claimed as a great achievement, namely, the erection of a national structure of education parallel to that which is administered by Government and other public bodies. It is undeniable that many so-called "national" schools and colleges have come into existence and that they have attracted a large number of students. No estimates can be framed either of the numbers or of the financial position of these institutions, if only because their attitude towards Government makes the comprehensive collection of accurate statistics impossible. Their numbers are undoubtedly small in relation to recognised institutions and pupils, and the financial position of many is precarious. At the time of writing, they differ from other institutions independent of Government control inasmuch as their immediate origin and aim are political rather than educational. Their continuance probably depends upon the force of educational ideals that are undoubtedly associated, though vaguely, with the political motives animating their founders and adherents. Unfortunately, for all their name of "national" they have not succeeded in calling into being a more truly indigenous type of education. The stress laid upon the spinning wheel in its educational as apart from its economic aspect, is only a development of that manual or vocational training which has been steadily encouraged for some years in India. The more extensive use of the vernacular as a medium of instruction, which is characteristic of certain of these national institutions, covers methods rather than aims and will no doubt be adopted by all Governments if and when they are convinced that it has popular as well as educational support. There are no signs of any reaction against Western subjects, languages or ideas; in fact in one province the popularity of "national" schools is ascribed to the fact that English is therein

begun earlier than in recognised schools. At the same time, the establishment of these "national" institutions is not without educational significance, if only because they indicate profound dissatisfaction with the present system. There is now a wide and real demand for practical and vocational education, springing largely from the knowledge that in present day conditions the prospects of employment awaiting the average product of the literary type of education are somewhat drab. There is also a belief that practically or vocationally trained men will more easily fit into the economic structure and thus be more valuable members of the society. Unfortunately, as has been pointed out by educational investigaters of late years, the present vociferous demand for technical instruction in India is in reality a demand for employment; what is wanted is rather industries than academies; and the problem is one less for the pedagogue than for the politician. But this fact is not generally appreciated. Explicit demands for professional and vocational training are finding ever more clamant expression, which extends to a desire for a fuller recognition of Indian culture and aspirations, for more generous appreciation of what India has contributed and may contribute to civilisation and for a more direct call to national service. Underlying these demands is a feeling that the existing system of education fails to awaken a practical response, because it is not in close contact with the life, thought and feeling of the country. Every educationalist knows that this discontent is not confined to India. The need from which it arises has for many years been emphasised, here as elsewhere; but it must be pointed out that past attempts to encourage vocational training have met with little or no public support, as the statistics for the various courses eloquently show. But at the moment of writing there seems some reason to believe that public interest in a closer *rapprochement* between education and life has for the first time been completely and successfully aroused. The general middle class public is now for the first time actually conscious of these fundamental defects in Indian education. And with this awakening has happily come, also for the first time, the beginning of a readiness to subscribe funds for educational work. Thus, however much the complete separation of national schools from a popular and responsible government may be deplored, and the assertion of independence based mainly on racial hatred may be deprecated, it is most cheering to find that ideas regarding the possible existence of large and important educational institutions, carried on without help from Government, are

The Motive-Force of "National" Education.

now being widely canvassed. If these institutions can purge themselves of racial and political hatred, their financial independence of Government may be of immense help to the community, in so far as it enables them to experiment with complete freedom, and enables Government to spend more money in places and on institutions where it is really needed.

Percentages under Instruction.

The present educational position in India is revealed most clearly by the statement of some figures. The proportion of the population under instruction varies widely from Province to Province. In the period under review, Bombay held the lead with a percentage of total scholars to the population of 4·9—an advance of no less than 0·4 per cent. over last year's figures. The figure for Burma, where an elaborate system of indigenous primary education does not appear to its fullest advantage in official statistics, was 4·3. This figure is approximately shared by Madras and Bengal. Next comes Assam, which is comparatively thinly populated, and has 3 per cent. of its population under instruction. The percentages in the Punjab and the United Provinces have risen during the year under review from 2·6 to 2·7 and from 2·1 to 2·3 ; while that of the Central Provinces has fallen from 2·6 to 2·5 respectively ; while Bihar and Orissa remains approximately stationary at 2·4. The North-West Frontier Province has increased its percentage from 2·0 to 2·2 per cent. It would seem obvious from these percentages that the most pressing need of the moment is a rapid extension of primary

Primary Education.

education. Unfortunately, the existing system is not merely defective in quality but is also unsatisfactory in results. The majority of children attending primary schools learn to read and write for no more than three years, and on returning to agricultural pursuits soon forget these attainments. Some steps are being taken particularly in Bombay, to provide village libraries which will constitute a certain incentive to continued reading. But the only radical cure is the introduction of a compulsory system under which children can be retained in school until the primary course has been completed. In almost every Province in India, Primary Education Acts now exist which permit municipalities, and, save in the case of Bombay and the United Provinces District Boards, to introduce

Compulsion.

the principle of compulsory education under certain conditions. In the United Provinces and the Punjab, both of which areas have hitherto been particularly backward, a vigorous campaign for the introduction of primary education has been inaugurated. Two years ago the Government of the

Expansion in the United Provinces.

United Provinces took full responsibility for finding the money required by an advance which will, it is estimated, raise the recurring cost of education to half a million sterling. In the first year of its existence the primary education programme increased the total number of primary schools from 11,500 to 13,500, while the number of boys under instruction rose by eleven per cent. During the second instalment of the three years' programme the number of schools increased to 15,000; the number of teachers from 27,000 to 28,000; and the number of scholars from 0·76 million to 0·81 million. Further, returns have been received from all municipal boards showing the cost of introducing compulsory education, and on the basis of these figures the local Government has promised to bear two-thirds of the additional cost involved. Boards have been invited to seek the assistance of the Education Department in working out their schemes; and the response so far has been in the highest degree encouraging. In the Punjab, also, good progress is being made with the elaborate five years' programme formulated by each district in consultation with Government. The aim has been to establish, within five years, an additional 122 middle schools and 1,463 primary schools and to convert a number of private or elementary schools into Board Schools. Government pledged itself to meet a fixed proportion of the cost of a number of these district schemes, it being the declared aim of the administration to establish District Board Schools at every centre where an average attendance of not fewer than 50 children might be expected. The progress made during the first three years of the programme, from 1918 to 1921, has been on the whole satisfactory. During this period number of vernacular schools maintained by District Boards has increased by 1,246 to 4,800. In addition the year 1921 saw 890 aided schools, 121 unaided schools and 1,551 elementary schools in operation. Somewhat naturally the rate of expansion has differed considerably from district to district. This is not a matter of great importance. More serious is the doubt whether the number of trained teachers has risen sufficiently to meet the increasing demands. The experience hitherto gained has been invaluable; for one thing it shows the necessity of greater care in the location of new schools. Apparently a very large number of institutions have been called into existence with an attendance below 30; and indeed there are a considerable number whose attendance only reaches single figures. Considering the short-

Expansion in the Punjab.

age of money under which schemes of educational expansion labour both in the Punjab and elsewhere, a plan of this kind is unnecessarily wasteful. In Bombay, as related in last year's report, the aim is to open up primary schools, first in every village with one thousand inhabitants, and secondly, in every village containing more than 500 inhabitants. Important reforms have been inaugurated in the curriculum for village schools and the number of district training schools has been increased. A notable encouragement has further been provided to municipal effort by Government's promise to contribute half the cost of free education. Throughout the Bombay Presidency five municipalities have introduced compulsory education for boys, and of these two have also accepted girls in their scheme. In Bengal, proposals for a rapid extension of primary education have been prepared by an Indian Educational Service Officer on Special Duty; and large allotments have been made by Government to local bodies. But in the sphere of primary education the outstanding feature of the year is perhaps the Elementary Education Act passed by the Madras Legislative Council. This is far more comprehensive and significant than the corresponding Acts passed in other Provinces. It provides for the creation in each district of a District Educational Council which will be an independent body and not a statutory committee of any of the existing local bodies. It will contain a few *ex-officio* members and a few members nominated by the Governor in Council; but the majority of its members are to be elected by the local authorities of the district. Its principal functions are to prepare schemes for the extension of elementary education, with a view to ultimate universality; to elicit and direct the co-operation of all agencies, whether public or private, engaged in elementary education, both for the opening of additional schools and for the expansion of existing schools; to regulate the recognition of all elementary schools and to assess and disburse all grants-in-aid to private elementary schools from provincial funds placed at its disposal for the purpose; and to advise the Department of Education on all matters connected with elementary education, including the provision of trained elementary school teachers.

Bombay.

Bengal.

Madras: Liberal Proposals.

From this brief survey of the more outstanding features of the progress of primary education during the period under review, it will be seen that popular interest

Scope for Economy.

has been awakened in considerable degree in favour of a boldly progressive campaign of educational expansion. But unfortunately, the sources from which such a scheme is to be financed have not yet been discovered. Hence, in several Provinces, there is a tendency to stretch existing funds as far as they will go, and to devise economies in every possible way. In the Punjab, during the last year, considerable advances have been made in this direction. Investigation has shown that very real economy can be effected by the concentration of available resources in such a manner as to permit their most effective application. The interposition of a Secretariat between the Director of Public Instruction and the Minister for Education has been avoided: an educational "general staff" is being collected at Headquarters with the saving thus achieved. Specialist teachers in training colleges have been concentrated rather than diffused; the system of inspection has been simplified; and overlap has been eliminated. Unquestionably much remains to be done in this direction in other Provinces also; and while the saving so effected cannot be expected radically to alter the educational position in the immediate future, yet it will probably constitute a powerful argument in the eyes of the new Legislatures, for the concentration of additional financial effort upon the problem as a whole.

Female Education.

So far we have been dealing principally with the education of Indian boys. It now remains to consider the education of Indian girls. In India the problem of female education is beset by many difficulties. Rapid expansion depends first upon an adequate supply of competent women teachers, secondly, upon devising courses of instruction which will commend themselves to that substantial body of opinion which still regards female education suspiciously; and, thirdly, upon an alteration of the existing structure of education in so far as it is unsuited to the needs of Indian women. But the main difficulty remains as hitherto, the lack of effective demand. During the last few years, there has been a substantial improvement in the number of women under training, and the provision of women's colleges; but the available statistics show that the resources for the education of Indian womanhood are still ridiculously small. At the present moment in India, there are 15 women's colleges and 128 training schools. Altogether

Demand *versus* Supply.

something over 1,200 women are undergoing university education and between three and four thousand are in training schools. There would be little difficulty in increasing the number of institutions, if only it were possible to fill them. For, until such customs as *purdah*

early marriage, and the like can be modified by the growing enlightenment of public opinion, it will be impossible to secure an adequate number of women pupils for secondary and higher training. And the fact must be faced that only a great social change can call forth the teachers who are the primary requisites for such an expansion. The Calcutta University Commission pointed out the peculiar difficulties and dangers which surround young women who are said to teach in lonely village schools. "Until men learn the rudiments of respect and chivalry," the Commission reported, "towards women who are not living in zenanas, anything like a service of women teachers will be impossible." The problem, therefore, does not depend for its solution merely upon the energy of those in charge of educational administration, but also upon a gradual change in the whole public attitude in India towards womenkind.

Implications.

The importance of overcoming this existing female illiteracy is shown by the fact that throughout India there are only some 1·4 million women and girls under instruction of any kind. This means that half the population is growing up almost without education; a fact which not only constitutes a serious bar to educational progress, but also, by preserving the traditional conservatism of the Indian home, closes and bars the innermost sanctuary of Indian life to those new ideas which must penetrate far and wide if the political and social aspirations of the country are to be attained. There is thus every reason to consider this aspect of the educational problem as being of extreme urgency; and of late many persons have devoted time and energy to the task of devising a solution. Here, as elsewhere, the Calcutta University Commission has erected sound guide-posts. In the Report, two principles were formulated regarding Female education. These were the modification of the curriculum to suit the needs of different classes, and the utilisation of the advice of ladies in formulating a suitable scheme of instruction. These have been accepted and attempts are being made to put them into practice, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, by the new Provincial Governments. Certain Provinces report satisfactory progress. In Bombay, there has

Progress Achieved.

been an increased number of lady students in colleges; while every year shows less shyness and a greater readiness to converse on equal terms with tutors and students. In secondary schools the number of girls has risen to over ten thousand, while in primary schools there has been an increase of almost the same number. Equally cheering is the condition of affairs in Madras, where the marked development of women's educa-

tion has led to the creation of a post of Deputy Directress of Girls' Schools. A steady increase in the demand for more secondary Education has brought four new girls' schools into being. In the United Provinces, the total number of girl scholars increased by thirteen hundred, while intermediate classes have been added to four Girls Schools. In the Punjab, a new Government High School is full to overflowing. In Bengal, however, the situation is less hopeful. Attempts to divert girls from the Matriculation course and to adjust their curricula to special needs have met with no response, and there is little interest displayed by the general public regarding the whole subject. Gradually it is to be hoped means will be found to break the popular apathy which has hitherto appeared to hinder the expansion of female education.

Secondary Education.

In the sphere of secondary education, despite the setbacks already received from political and economic causes, the year was one of considerable progress. The number of secondary schools in British India increased from 8,700 to more than 8,900, the number of pupils under instruction now standing at just short of 1·3 millions. Unfortunately, the quantitative statistical index is a very poor guide to the quality of secondary education in India. This branch is undeniably of poor standard and badly regulated. Now, since by far the largest proportion of the population of any country can scarcely, even under the most favourable circumstances, hope to pursue its formal education beyond the full secondary stage, it is of first importance that the structure of secondary education should be sound and well balanced. Until this is the case in India, the major portion of those boys who pass through the full secondary course must necessarily enter the world with no training for citizenship, with unformed ideals and with no aspirations, save those connected with personal success. The demand for secondary education in India is at present almost inexhaustible, and all efforts at improvement seemed to be swamped by an overwhelming supply of cheap and bad institutions. However inferior the education available may be, the proprietors of private schools are able to manage their academies at the lowest limit of efficiency

Unsatisfactory Conditions.

without fear of losing their pupils; and since the most necessary ingredients of education as generally understood, namely social life and good physical conditions, are not demanded, they are not forthcoming. Public opinion does not often support the schoolmaster, and parents are only too ready to listen to any complaints of their children against

strictness and discipline. Naturally, in such circumstances, political agitation has occupied the minds of boys, during the period under review, to an extent which tends to hinder true education ; and a marked decline of discipline has resulted. But the most formidable indictment which is levelled against secondary education in India to-day is that it has hitherto failed to train its pupils for citizenship. Very largely on account of such intrinsic defects as those which have been noted, every Indian boy who desires to obtain an education worthy of the name, finds himself compelled to pass from the secondary school to the University, even though his aptitude and choice of a future vocation do not of themselves fit him for a University career at all. The establishment of a new system is therefore necessary, and during the period under review, attempts have been made by several of the new Provincial Governments to follow the lines laid down by the Calcutta University Commission. In several Provinces, Boards for Secondary and Intermediate education have been constituted, representative not merely of educational but of other interests, in touch with everyday affairs ; and much attention has been directed both in the Legislative Councils and outside to the solution of the most pressing problems of this branch of development. One of these problems, that of securing suitable salaries for the staffs of schools under private and Board management, occupies a place which has become all the more prominent with the recent increases in the pay of Government schoolmasters. In Bihar and Orissa, the fee rate has been raised for the improvement of salaries, and in Bombay, many private and Board managed schools now levy fees which are higher than those of Government schools. In the United Provinces, Government has come to the help of private colleges with a grant for the improvement of staff pay, as well as for increasing the salaries of masters in private schools. Another problem much to the fore is that of the curriculum, since, as already noted, that portion of the general public that patronizes secondary education is now vociferous for vocational training. Preparation for trades and professions is demanded as an integral part of the school course. There are many difficulties in the way of satisfying this request, which are not always realised by non-experts. Not the least of these is the fact that the secondary course, so far as Anglo-Vernacular schools are concerned, is already overloaded, and even now tends to be superficial. The addition of subjects is thus well-nigh impossible : and the elimination of any which are now taught for the

Pay of Teachers.

Curriculum.

purpose of substituting purely vocational training would be infinitely harmful to the progress of the true training for citizenship. But still more formidable perhaps is the difficulty that if popular demand were complied with, Indian industries would prove insufficiently developed to provide employment for more than a fraction of the pupils who would be turned out trained in particular vocations.

Vernacular Secondary Education.

Vernacular secondary education has made considerable strides during the period under review, and from several Provinces there come reports of the remarkable increase in the number and strength of vernacular middle schools. But it is interesting to notice that the growing popularity of those schools, in which English has been introduced as an optional subject, seems to show that the distinction between Anglo-vernacular and vernacular middle schools, so far as it is based on the curriculum, is tending to disappear.

University Education.

Perhaps the branch of education which has shown most remarkable progress during the period is that connected with the University system. Just prior to the reorganisation of the Indian administration consequent upon the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms, an invaluable lead had been supplied to those who are henceforth to direct education by the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission. An Indian University has hitherto consisted of scattered colleges, one being often separated from the other by hundreds of miles. With inadequate staff and inconsiderable equipment, these colleges have, in the majority of cases, attempted to convey instruction far more elaborate than is within their compass. The University itself has pursued merely a phantom existence as an examining and consulting body, with the result that the University standard has been something remote and external. Colleges have therefore tended to find a common level which corresponds really to the capacity of the weakest institutions.

Its Defects.

Suggested Remedies.

The Calcutta University Commission recommended as a substitute for this system the constitution of centralised unitary universities. The essence of the new plan is the erection of the university as unitary teaching body where all information and instruction is given by university officers under the direct control of the university authorities, without the interposition of collegiate education between these authorities and the

students. Another, almost equally important, feature of the reform advocated by Sir Michael Sadler and his colleagues was the removal from the university of all tuition of a strictly pre-university standard, and its concentration into new institutions to be known as intermediate colleges, which should provide the logical culmination to the system of secondary education. In giving effect to the recommendation of the Calcutta University Commission, the United Provinces has taken the lead. Intermediate Colleges have been built at Jhansi, Fyzabad and Almora, while arrangements are being made to open others at Etawah, Ghazipore, Moradabad, Lucknow and Allahabad. The erection of a Board of high school and intermediate education has been sanctioned, and this body was constituted shortly after the close of the period under review. New Universities have been opened at Aligarh and at Lucknow; while the original University of Allahabad has been reconstituted in an attempt to follow the general lines recommended by the Calcutta University Commission, with such modifications as local conditions are believed to require. In other Provinces also there has been much development of late in the sphere of university education.

Action in the United Provinces.

Elsewhere.

In Burma, a centralised residential university has been incorporated at Rangoon; in Bengal the Dacca University is now in working order; and the University of Calcutta has been placed under the Bengal Government instead of under the Government of India. The Punjab University has developed honours teaching and added university teachers, while the Government has extended intermediate colleges to lessen the congestion of young and immature students in large cities. Bombay has instituted linguistic honours courses and a Board of vernacular studies, while in Bihar the University of Patna is steadily building up its position. Proposals have recently come before the Government of India for the creation of a university at Nagpur in the Central Provinces. At Delhi, moreover, the scheme for the establishment of a university has been sanctioned, and although funds cannot be provided for the moment for the erection of a fully equipped university, a modest commencement towards the attainment of that object has already been made. The new university is commencing work with the existing colleges in their present buildings; and transitory provisions of a particularly elastic nature have been laid down in such a manner as to permit its gradual development into its eventual form.

Turning now to special branches of education work, we notice that Muhammadan education in India presents peculiar problems of its own, since it is necessary for every boy who undergoes educational training to spend a considerable time in religious instruction. This naturally reduces the period available for secular instruction. Generally speaking, the community is backward as compared with the Hindus, but as a result of increased effort, both on its own part and that of the administration, the percentage of Muhammadan pupils to pupils of other communities now bears almost the same proportion as the Muhammadans themselves to the entire population. Greater appreciation among Muslim leaders of the necessity for increasing the educational level of their co-religionists is a most encouraging feature of the situation. A great impulse towards educational advance may confidently be expected to result from the erection of the centralized residential University at Aligarh: although, mainly owing to political troubles, the first year of that institution's existence has been somewhat stormy. In Bengal, a scheme for a new Government Muhammadan College is in contemplation, while in Madras a second grade college intended for the community has been elevated to the first grade, and two additional secondary schools have been opened for it. In the sphere of school education, almost every Provincial Government has shown considerable activity. In the United Provinces there was a gratifying increase in the number of Muhammadan primary institutions, as a result of the grants given by Government to District Boards for this purpose. A changed system of inspection for Muhammadan primary schools will, it is hoped, enable the Boards to improve the conditions of aided institutions, and distribute, to the best advantage, the grants set apart for them. Almost everywhere in India, none the less, there is considerable leeway to make up. The general impression would seem to be that, on the whole, Muhammadan education is gaining ground in a not unsatisfactory manner.

Muhammadan Education.

In the education of Europeans and of the Domiciled community progress continues to be made. The European and Anglo-Indian community is comparatively small, realises the value of education, and is prepared to pay for it. None the less, towards the education of the domiciled community, a certain amount of State-aid is necessary. This is caused not by any unwillingness to recognise the advantages of education, but by sheer lack of the necessary resources. As has previously been mentioned

European Education.

European education is a reserved subject, and does not come under the control of the Provincial Ministers. But it is satisfactory to notice that no action likely in any way to weaken the financial position of the European schools has been taken by the reformed provincial Governments.

Depressed Classes.

Turning now to the education of the backward and depressed classes, we have already noticed that some progress has been made in the admission of Panchamas into schools under public management in Madras. From many other parts of India a general desire on the part of these classes for education is reported. Among aboriginal and criminal tribes and depressed classes generally, the Church Missionary Society, and particularly the Salvation Army have continued to carry on admirable work. There is still great scope for further effort, as may be gathered from the fact that, of the aboriginal population of India, reckoned at about 10 millions approximately, 1½ per cent. is at school.

Technical Education.

Mention has already been made of increasing popular interest in, and demand for, technical and industrial education. In several Provinces this subject has been transferred from the Department of Education to that of Industries, with the result that there is some risk of failure to evolve a consistent and general educational policy throughout the areas under the control of each Provincial administration. During the period under review, there has been on the whole steady and successful development. The Government Engineering Colleges continue to increase their students; while the schools of Engineering, which are scattered up and down the country, are prospering. Commercial schools are also growing in popularity. The old difficulty of placing in suitable positions boys who have passed through institutions of this character, is beginning to disappear, although a large expansion of Indian industries is necessary before sufficient scope exists for such an increase in industrial training as public opinion at present demands.

Agricultural Education.

For a very long time to come, the sphere of technical education which will be of the most immediate benefit to the people of India, is agricultural education. In another place mention has been made of some of the work done in the higher branches by the Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa. This provides facilities for post graduate courses. There are, in addition, agricultural colleges at Poona, Lyallpur, Cawnpore, Coimbatore, Nagpur and Sabour, and it is proposed shortly to open similar insti-

tutions at Dacca and Mandalay. The Agricultural College at Poona, which is affiliated to the Bombay University, continues to maintain its popularity, the number of students on the roll being now more than 200. One much appreciated feature of the activities of the College is a short course in agriculture which is given to farmers' sons, who are not qualified to take the university course. A somewhat similar plan is employed in the Agricultural College at Lyallpur, which provides a degree course, subject to university rules and regulations, and a shorter certificate course. But in addition to these, there is also a vernacular course dealing with practical agriculture. In secondary education in agriculture, almost every province continues to shew progress. In Bengal, experiments in connection with agricultural instruction are being made in two schools. In the United Provinces the agricultural school established at Bulandshahr will be organized on lines similar to those of the short two-year course of the Cawnpore agricultural college. In the Central Provinces, the syllabus for the two agricultural middle schools was revised during the year, but in this locality there does not seem to be any appreciable demand for instruction of the type which they provide. Bombay continues to maintain its lead over the other provinces of India in the field of secondary as well as higher agricultural education. During the year there were six vernacular agricultural schools at work, which seem to be very successful. But this type of training has yet to commend itself to the people for whom it is primarily planned. In the Punjab the less costly plan of providing practical training in agriculture for boys in certain vernacular middle schools, alongside their general training, is being tried. Generally speaking, throughout India, the demand for school and college instruction in agriculture is surprisingly small, when the prominence which this pursuit plays in the life of the country is considered. But as the propaganda work of the Agricultural Department continues, every year a keener demand for better and improved implements and more suitable methods is witnessed, and it is probable that a desire on the part of the cultivating classes for an education which will enable their sons to apply efficiently the results of agricultural research will gradually spring up. In rural elementary schools almost everywhere in India, increased stress is being laid on the provision of elementary agricultural training. In middle schools also the same subject is gaining ground. In the Punjab the logical development of this idea has already been followed up, and teachers are being put through a practical course of agriculture at the Lyallpur College.

It is also interesting to notice that a course of agricultural education for soldiers is in progress at the Gurdaspur Farm in the same province. This is a promising experiment, but unfortunately in some cases the men selected for the class by the military authorities are reported to have been not entirely suitable.

CHAPTER VII.

The State and the Subject.

In the course of the period under review, a radical change has come ver the administrative system of India through the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. In the preceding volumes of this Report, mention has been made in some detail of the scope and intention of this constitutional measure. It will be sufficient here to recapitulate in the barest outline some of the more obvious results of its introduction during the year 1921.

Devolution.

The first and most striking consequence of the new Government of India Act, and of the rules made thereunder, has been to divide the sphere of government in the Provinces between two authorities, one amenable to the British Parliament and the other to the Indian electorate. This has necessitated a prior classification of the subjects of government into the two spheres of Central and Provincial. A number of very important administrative subjects, henceforth technically known as "Provincial" subjects, have been entrusted to the reformed local Governments. These include local self-government; medical administration, public health, and sanitation; education; public works and water supply, with certain reservations; land revenue administration; famine relief; agriculture; fisheries and forests; co-operation; excise; the administration of justice, subject to legislation by the Indian legislature; registration; industrial development; police; prisons; sources of provincial revenue; and many miscellaneous items. The way has thus been cleared for the division, within the Provinces, of the functions of Government between an authority responsible to Parliament and an authority responsible to the electorate. It is hardly necessary to repeat that, under the reformed constitution the provincial Executives now consist of two portions. The first half is the Governor, working with Executive Councillors nominated by the Crown; the second is the Governor, working with Ministers selected from members of the Provincial Legislature. The first half administers certain subjects known as "Reserved" and is responsible for them to the Central Government and ultimately to Parliament. The second

half deals with "Transferred" subjects and is amenable to the Indian electorate. Among the most important of the subjects so transferred to popular control are local self-government; medical administration, and public health; education; public works, under a number of important heads; agriculture; forests and fisheries; co-operation; excise; registration; industrial development; and other minor items. It will thus be seen even from this brief summary that a very large proportion of those administrative subjects on the development of which India's progress depends have now been made over directly to Indian control.

Dyarchy.

The division of the provincial Executives into two halves, according to the so-called dyarchic plan, is a constitutional experiment of a daring because unparalleled kind. With the reasons for its adoption we are not here concerned; it is sufficient to state that in the circumstances amid which India found herself at the time of the Reforms, those in control found it difficult to devise any alternative method of combining stability with progress. Even at the time of writing, it is still too early to judge of the success of the whole experiment; but, broadly speaking, the new Executive in the provinces have worked with a harmony and with a smoothness which has surprised the large body of opinion which regarded the experiment as inherently unsound. In the earlier pages of this report, enough evidence has been given of the manner in which, under conditions of most abnormal difficulty, the administrative scheme set up by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms has functioned. We have noticed that in the Central and Local Governments, the elected members of the Legislature, who now decisively predominate, have used their power in a manner which is on the whole both wise and temperate. We have further seen that the supporters of constitutional progress who have rallied to the working of the new reforms have succeeded in achieving considerable progress towards the satisfaction of their country's political aspirations.

In previous chapters mention has been made of the progress achieved in certain of the more important activities of Government, both central and provincial, reserved and transferred. In this chapter it remains to consider some of the remaining functions of the administration.

Local Self-government.

Scarcely inferior in importance to any other in the list of subjects transferred to Indian direction is the sphere of local self-government. It is in this sphere that administrative experience and communal ideals can be implanted in the

population at large, and solid foundations laid for the erection of a future structure of self-government. Perhaps in no other branch of civic activity is the contrast between India and Western countries at present so marked. Both in Europe and America, its institutions are planted deep in the consciousness of the people, and upon them the fabric of nationhood has been solidly erected. But in India the situation is different. The ideal of nationhood is, it is true, making its way in an ever-increasing degree among the educated classes; but it has yet to penetrate to the masses of the population. Until communal ideals and the civic spirit can be instilled into those large sections of the Indian people who at present stand aloof from politics, it will be impossible to achieve that concentration upon national ends, as envisaged first through the realisation of local needs, without which complete nationhood cannot exist.

Past Difficulties.

It is only just to remark that the disappointing history of local self-government during the last 25 years is not altogether to be explained by the apathy of those among whom it has been somewhat artificially implanted. It is no doubt true that for centuries prior to the foundation of British rule, indigenous institutions, framed for needs not dissimilar from those of modern local self-government, both existed and worked in some parts of India. But during the anarchy of the 18th century, they were in a large measure destroyed by the prevalence of military despotism; and in the period of re-creation, for which the 19th century stood, their submerged foundations were not utilised to the best possible advantage by the British administration. Hence, the institutions of local self-government in their present form are a creation of British rule, and to a considerable degree alien from the spirit of the people. While they have struck their roots more deeply year by year it is unfair to expect very rapid progress. Moreover, for the last quarte of a century they have been administered very largely by a highly com petent official agency, able and willing to relieve the non-official member of such small responsibilities as were actually allotted to them. As result, the institutions of local self-government in India have in a larg measure failed to enlist the services of that class of public-spirited mer conscious of their ability to wield power when it is entrusted to them upon which the system depends so largely for its success in Englan and America. Up to a short time ago, it was not unfair to say tha municipalities and district boards proved themselves indifferent becaus the powers entrusted to them were as a rule insignificant. On the othe

hand, these powers continued insignificant because of the apathy and lack of public spirit of the members. A vicious circle was thus created which has only begun to break down within the last three or four years through a determination on the part of the administration to entrust more important functions to the institutions of local self-government, and to confer upon their members a degree of responsibility which it was hoped would rouse them from the listlessness in which they had too long remained. With the transfer of local self-government to ministers elected by the people, it may confidently be hoped that the existing apathy will be gradually transformed into a live and energetic enthusiasm. Until this can be accomplished, progress is bound to remain disappointingly slow.

Local Self-government as a Transferred Subject.

Happily a review of the legislative work undertaken by the provincial Councils in this sphere testifies plainly to a growing popular interest. In the Punjab, the local Government took up three Bills of considerable importance. The first was the Village Panchayat Bill, which enabled Government to establish in a village, or a group of villages, a system of counsellors to whom certain local matters, including judicial power both in respect of criminal and civil cases of a minor character, might be assigned. The second was intended to make better provision for the administration of the smaller towns in agricultural districts; the third provided for the improvement and expansion of towns by the creation of Trusts vested with statutory powers to acquire land and to carry out improvements. In Bihar and Orissa also, a Village Administration Bill was introduced, which provided for the administration of village affairs by representative bodies elected by villagers themselves, and possessing the right to exercise judicial powers in petty civil and criminal cases. In the Central Provinces, a Bill was prepared by the Local Government in order to expand the existing Municipal Act, which was considered inadequate in view of the changed conditions. The new measure was designed to make the municipal bodies truly self-governing institutions. It provided for an increased elected element, empowered municipal committees to levy taxes themselves, and to recover arrears, and enabled them to deal properly with congested areas. The Government of the United Provinces also drafted a Bill providing for increased powers of local self-government in rural areas. The main provisions related to the extension of the franchise, the conferment of powers of local taxation and the elimination of the official element. It also provided for the creation of divisional councils, to be elected by the

constituent boards, with the object of relieving both Government and the Boards of some of their respective powers and duties. The amendment of the Calcutta Municipal Act, which had been engaging attention for some time, was also taken up during the period under review. A draft Bill, now under consideration, provides for the paramountcy of the Corporation in matters relating to municipal administration, for the appointment of a President—to be called a Mayor—and a Chief Officer, both of whom are to be elected by the Corporation; for an increased number of members, of whom nine-tenths will be elected; for the election of 5 Aldermen, who will be co-opted by the Municipal councillors, and for the reservation of a fixed number of seats for Muhammadans so as to secure adequate representation of that community.

The Present Position.

A brief survey of the progress in municipalities and district boards during the period under review will reveal clearly, first, the gradual awakening of a new spirit in response to the altered policy of the administration, and secondly, the amount of leeway which has to be made up before the institutions of local self-government in India can range themselves on a footing equal to that of corresponding institutions in the West. Taking first municipalities, it is to be noticed that there are some 739 in British India, with something under 18 millions people resident within their limits. Of these municipalities roughly 546 have a population of less than 20,000 persons and the remainder a population of 20,000 and over. As compared with the total population of particular provinces the population resident within municipal limits is largest in Bombay where it amounts to 17 per cent., and is smallest in Assam where it amounts to only 2 per cent. In other provinces it varies from 3 to 9 per cent. of the total population. Turning to the composition of the municipalities, we find that considerably more than half of the total members are elected. *Ex-officio* members are roughly 12 per cent. and nominated 30 per cent. Elected members are almost everywhere in a majority. Taking all municipalities together, the non-officials outnumber the officials by nearly five to one. The functions of municipalities are classed under the heads of Public Safety, Health, Convenience and Instruction. For the discharge of these responsibilities, there

Municipal Functions.

is a municipal income of £11·4 millions, nearly two-thirds of which is derived from taxation and the remainder from municipal property, contributions from provincial revenues and miscellaneous sources. Generally speaking, the income of municipalities is small, the four cities of Calcutta, Bombay

Madras and Rangoon together providing nearly 38 per cent. of the total. The average income of all municipalities other than the four mentioned above is nearly £10,000. The total expenditure of municipalities excluding that debited to the head "extraordinary and debt" amounted in 1919-20 to £11·3 millions. The heaviest items of this expenditure come under the heads of "Conservancy" and "Public Works" which amount to 17 per cent. and 14 per cent. respectively. "Water Supply" comes to 9 per cent., "Drainage" roughly to 6 per cent. and "Education" to no more than 8·1 per cent. In some localities the expenditure on education is considerably in excess of the average. In the Bombay Presidency, excluding Bombay city, for example, the expenditure on education amounts to more than 18 per cent. of the total funds, while in the Central Provinces and Berar it is over 15 per cent.

In view of the fact that only 10 per cent. of the population of British India lives in towns, municipal administration, however efficient, cannot affect in any large degree the great mass of the people. Hence it is that particular importance attaches in India to the working and constitution of the district boards, which perform in rural areas those functions which in urban areas are assigned to the municipalities.

District Boards.

In almost every district of British India save in the province of Assam, there is a board, subordinate to which are two or more sub-district boards; while in Bengal, Madras and Bihar and Orissa, there are also Union Committees. Throughout India at large there are some 200 district boards with 532 sub-district boards subordinate to them. There are also more than 1,022 Union Committees. This machinery has jurisdiction over a population which was some 213 millions in 1919-20. Leaving aside for one moment the Union Committees, we see that the members of the Boards numbered nearly 13,000 in 1919-20, of whom 57 per cent. were elected. During the period under review, as will be noticed later, the tendency has been throughout India to increase the elected members of the district boards at the expense of the nominated and the official members. It should be remembered that the boards are practically manned by Indians, who constitute 93 per cent. of the whole membership. Only 17 per cent. of the total members of all boards are officials of any kind. The total income of the Boards in 1919-20—the latest figures available at the moment of writing—amounted to £9·3 millions, the average income of each district board together with its subordinate boards being £52,000. The most important item of revenue is provincial rates, which represent a proportion of the total income varying from

21 per cent in the Central Provinces to 49 per cent in Bihar and Orissa. This income is mainly expended upon civil works, such as roads and bridges (£10 millions); the other principal objects of expenditure being education (£2·7 millions), medical and sanitary works (£0·9 million) and general administration.

One interesting feature of the period under review has been the activity displayed by the great cities of British India in the direction of civil improvement. In Bombay and Calcutta, the Improvement Trusts have continued their beneficent activities in ameliorating the conditions under which the masses live. Particular attention has been paid in both places to the housing problem, which indeed cries aloud for urgent solution. In both places the rise in prices and the shortage of funds have combined to curtail in some directions the progress of these activities. None the less, the operations of the Improvement Trusts of Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon continued upon a very large scale. The scheme, for example, which has now been projected for the reclamation of Back Bay in Bombay will challenge comparison, both in its magnitude and in the results which its success may achieve, with municipal operations almost anywhere els in the world. The total borrowings of the Improvement Trusts up t date stand at no less than £10·48 millions, involving interest and sinkin fund charges of £0·34 million every year. During the period 1921-22 in addition to the actual construction of buildings, both permanen and temporary, good progress has been made with the large developmen schemes on hand. These operations, in pursuance of the understandin that Government should borrow for the requirements of the principa local bodies in Bombay as well as for its own, have been financed by th Local administration out of its loan monies. The amount of loans sanc tioned for the Improvement Trust for the current year is £2 millions In Calcutta also, the scarcity of house accommodation and the abnorma increase in house-rent induced the Trust to undertake several re-housin schemes, some of which are nearing completion. But the financia position of the Trust was seriously affected both by the fall in the valu of money and the rise in the cost of buildin materials and in the rate of interest. The dec sion that the demolition of houses acquired in connection with improv ment schemes should not be undertaken, so long as the persons who hav been dis-housed find it impossible to re-build at a reasonable price, als affected the operations of the Trust seriously, since a considerable amoun

Improvement Trusts.

Bombay.

Calcutta.

of capital spent in land acquisition is locked up, instead of being returned through the profits. Hence the main feature of the activities of the Calcutta Improvement Trust during the period under review has been the construction of main roads in the central part of the city in preference to the development of suburban areas. It is interesting to notice that other cities are beginning to follow the example of the great ports. Improvement Trusts have recently been constituted in Cawnpore, Lucknow, and Allahabad in the United Provinces, and in several of the larger cities in other provinces of India.

Elsewhere.

The well directed activity and continuous response to public interests of the larger municipalities stands in refreshing contrast with the apathy and poverty of the municipal administration in many up-country towns. Some reasons for the unsatisfactory nature of the work of the smaller municipalities have already been mentioned, and the shortcomings of the system after some time attracted the serious notice of the administration. Just prior to the transfer of local self-government to the direction of popularly elected ministers, an important resolution of the Government of India laid down the lines of the policy along which the development of municipal self-government might proceed.

Future of Municipal Work.

The importance of this resolution lay in the fact that it placed in the forefront of the objects of self-government the training of the people in the management of their own affairs ; and laid down in clear form the doctrine that political education must take precedence over departmental efficiency. In consequence of this resolution, the general relaxation of Government control over local bodies has for the last few years been steadily proceeding. This tendency has naturally been stimulated in large degree by the classification of local self-government among the "transferred" subjects. The additional responsibility thrown upon members both of the municipalities and of the district boards is inducing them to take a greater interest in their work. In Bengal, the number of municipalities increased from 115 to 116 during the year under review, while there are now only 5 municipalities with a nominated, as opposed to an elected chairman.

Bengal.

Many bodies however are still too poor to be able to afford an up-to-date administration, with the result that the Commissioners are content with an income barely sufficient for the minimum requirements of municipal existence. As was mentioned in last year's report, there is a great reluctance in Bengal as elsewhere on the part of municipalities to tax themselves to the figure which reasonable

efficiency demands. During the period under review, the income of these bodies exceeded £0·7 million, while their expenditure was some £0·6 million. Since the total municipal population, leaving Calcutta out of consideration, is some 2 millions, calculation shows that the expenses of municipal administration amount only to some 7 shillings per head of the population. Roads and public works, conservancy, water supply and general administration consume more than half the total revenue ; the remainder has to carry the charges for education, medical relief, sanitation, and the like. In spite of revised assessments, it is to be noticed that the income of the majority of municipalities in Bengal has remained practically stationary. None the less, the record of the year is not discouraging. The same is true for district boards in Bengal. The policy of removing them from official tutelage has been throughout pursued, and the privilege of electing their own chairman from among their own non-official members was extended to the five remaining boards where the system had not previously applied. Orders were issued that no official member of a local board should stand for election as chairman, and that the existing official chairman, that is to say, the Sub-Divisional Officers, should make room for non-officials. Further, in order to secure a substantial elective majority, the proportion of elected members of 14 district boards was raised from one-half to two thirds ; their strength, as well as that of the local boards subordinate to them, was also increased. It was decided that the remaining boards should be brought on the same footing when they are next re-constituted. Local boards were established in four divisions where there had been none before. The original 25 district boards had an income of £1·43 millions, and incurred an expenditure of over £1·13 millions. The balance was not sufficient for these bodies to undertake anti-malarial and other measures for promoting the public health ; and with a view to considering what means should be adopted for augmenting their resources, as well as to discuss other administrative problems, a conference of representatives of district boards was twice held under the presidency of Sir Surendranath Banerjea, the Minister for Local Self-Government. Generally speaking, there is a satisfactory tendency to adopt a more forward policy, particularly in public health administration ; but more might be done if the boards abandoned the system of financing capital works from current revenues.

Bengal District Boards.

The reluctance of district boards to tax themselves is a feature not confined to Bengal. The reports of administrations up and down India

reveal the fact that, while the majority of those who serve on them are quite alive to the advantages of improved administration, they are unwilling to face the corresponding financial obligations. For some time the general impression prevailed that the Provincial and Central Governments possessed an inexhaustible purse from which they were only prevented by contumacy from drawing to relieve all the financial embarrassments and limitations under which the district boards labour.

Village self-government.

This simple belief is now to some extent shattered, and the people at large are gradually awakening to a sense of responsibility for self-improvement. One of the most powerful levers of progress in this direction is to be found in the efforts now made for the institution of village self-government. In certain parts of India village self-government has now attained a considerable degree of development, with the result that what may be called the civic consciousness of the population has been greatly stimulated. In other parts of India, such as Bengal, village self-government is still backward. But here, as in other provinces, the administration is fully alive to the desirability of assisting this very necessary development. As was mentioned in last year's report, there was passed in Bengal in

Union Boards in Bengal.

1919 a Village Self-Government Act embodying the policy of constituting Union Boards at the earliest possible date for groups of villages throughout the province. During the period under review, the number of these boards continued to increase, rising from 1,500 to more than 2,000. Though they are in their infancy as yet, many of them show a remarkable aptitude for managing their own affairs. Unfortunately, in certain cases, notably at Midnapur, the mis-representations of non-co-operators prevented the villagers from availing themselves of the privileges of the Self-Government Act; and as it is not the policy of Government to force these institutions on villagers who show no manifest willingness to avail themselves of such a privilege, the progress achieved during the year under review has been less striking than might under happier circumstances have been reported.

In Bombay, the development of village self-government is also proceeding, as the result of an Act for constituting, or increasing the powers of village committees, which was passed last year by the Legislative Council. In this Presidency, it should be noticed that some 75 out of 157 municipalities had a two-thirds elected majority of councillors in

Bombay.

the year 1920; and a distinct step forward has been projected by the administration in the direction of liberalizing the constitution of all municipal bodies. The

policy of appointing a non-official president has been extended both to district and sub-district boards during the period under review, and a large number of non-officials have also been appointed presidents of sub-district (taluka) boards. These non-official presidents and vice-presidents are reported to have discharged their duties very satisfactorily, although it is a matter of regret that they do not always receive as much help from other members as they have a right to expect. There was thus a tendency to concentrate executive control in the hands of one member, while the others regard themselves as constituting a purely consultative body. In Madras also the institutions of local self-government continued to progress in an encouraging manner during the period under review. The number of district boards in the Presidency was 24, with 863 members. The number of sub-district boards rose from 97 to 119; while those electing their own presidents increased from 13 to 38. The total number of municipal councils rose from 73 to 80, and the proportion of Indian to European and Anglo-Indian members further increased. In 1920-21 there were 54 municipal councils, consisting entirely of Indian members, as against 41 in the previous year. The average imposition of taxation per head of population is still very low, being only about 4 shillings. None the less, in the course of the period under review, waterworks were undertaken in 7 municipal towns, while improvements and extensions to the existing schemes were undertaken in 8 other municipalities. The number of educational institutions maintained by municipal councils rose to 915, which was 20 more than in the previous year; while the net educational charges amounted to 19·5 per cent. of the income from general taxation.

Madras.

In the United Provinces, there has been a considerable, if unostentatious, progress during the year 1920-21. Unfortunately, not much progress has been made towards solving the main difficulties which confront municipalities in improving their system of taxation. Efforts have been made to introduce terminal taxes, and with certain boards this source of income is working well. It has also been proposed in some towns to extend the pilgrim tax by a surcharge on the tickets of third-class passengers. The receipts from water supply are also increasing in various localities; but expenditure and income in this matter are still far from balancing. In fact, finance is still a great obstacle which lies in the path of nearly all the boards. Many of the more important bodies cannot satisfactorily

United Provinces.

Municipalities in United Provinces.

make both ends meet, and until they can do so, they cannot be expected to look with favour on large schemes of improvement which require an outlay out of all proportion to their resources, even though Government should offer to lend them the money. But most boards are taking steps, whether by a reduction of expenditure on establishments, or by enhancement of taxation, to improve the position. Much in this direction, nevertheless, still remains to be done. But perhaps the most encouraging sign of the times is an indication that the public generally expects members of the municipal boards to devote themselves to their duties with more assiduity and greater civic spirit. Naturally, the position of the members is not made easier by the mixing up of general politics with municipal affairs; and in some municipalities it is becoming, for this reason, more and more difficult to frame and carry through any consistent policy. At the same time, the political agitation has not had a very apparent effect upon municipal administration generally, and there is reason to hope that, with the passing of the present phase of unrest, members of the boards will settle down to greater harmony and co-operation, not only with Government but among themselves. So far as district boards are concerned, little improvement can be expected while they are financially dependent on Government. It is recognised that their emancipation from official leading strings is the central item in the programme of reforms, and there is reason to hope that the amending Bill, to which reference has been made in earlier paragraphs, will make them as independent as is possible and desirable. This Bill should have the effect of making them entirely non-official, and relaxing as much as possible the internal and external control which at present cramps their activities, while the grant of considerable powers of taxation should make them eventually financially independent. But many difficulties lie before them, and the remedy of further taxation is hardly a popular one. One Commissioner formulates, with reference to the boards in his division, certain conclusions which are generally applicable throughout the United Provinces.

District Boards in the United Provinces.

"The district boards will soon make a new departure of great importance, and will do so under circumstances of great difficulty. They will find themselves half way through a big programme of expansion of education which they will not have the money to complete. They are faced with an early reduction in the proportion of that expenditure to be contributed by Government. As regards their other services, their condition will be even worse. They cannot expand any medical or

sanitary provision; they cannot even maintain their roads, and when their present reserves are exhausted, they will not be able to do much in buildings, nor are any considerable economies probable in any direction. The remedy will be for the Boards to tax themselves, but it is not an easy one to apply."

The Punjab.

In the Punjab, municipal administration continued to show improvement during the period under review, the general attitude of the members in regard to their responsibilities being promising for progress in the future. The income of municipalities increased by over 15 lakhs of rupees (£0·15 million) in the year, and expenditure was kept within the figures for income—a point in which municipal committees compare favourably with district boards. The prevailing tendency towards the substitution of terminal taxes for octroi continued, and several important towns, including Lahore and Amritsar, are preparing for the change. It is interesting to notice that in Ambala, the cry of "no representation, no taxation" has been raised by persons assessed under the new profession-tax imposed in that district. Such a demand for an extension of the franchise is a sign of increasing interest in public work, which is to be welcomed. But the other side of the picture is seen at Gurgaon, where elections are declared to be not only farcical but actually unpopular. So far as municipal elections are concerned, there have been a large number of unopposed returns, and where contests were vigorous they were not infrequently conducted on sectarian lines, and occasionally vitiated by corrupt practice. But in the Central Punjab, particularly Lahore and Amritsar, there was displayed, during a large portion of the year a spirit of initiative and keenness which, if confined to its legitimate scope, would promise well. Unfortunately, an increasing taste for political controversy has manifested itself as a result of the existing situation, and municipal administration has naturally suffered. In the larger areas, like Lahore, there were on occasions fairly keen contests for seats on the district boards, and a large percentage of the electors registered their votes. To what extent the present representatives serving on district boards perform their duties is a question the answer to which varies with the locality, the relative educational equipment of the members, and sometimes the comparative accessibility of headquarters from the outlying portions of their district. It should be noticed that the districts reporting a paucity of meetings and attendance are generally situated in ill-served tracts where communications are few and far

Municipalities.

District Boards.

between. Fortunately, district boards are beginning to realise that Government cannot pour out ever-increasing grants-in-aid and the proposal has been made in some districts to impose fresh taxation and to raise the local rates. This is a most hopeful sign for the future. But it is indeed in this matter of finance that members of district boards most conspicuously lack experience; for, while during the period under review their income apart from Government grants, actually decreased, their expenditure was in excess by ten lakhs of rupees (£0·1 million). Nor is the allotment of the expenditure always made with the best of discrimination. In some districts, inadequate sums are set aside for medical relief and sanitation in order to enable the boards to carry through a large educational programme which aims rather at a multiplicity of schools than at improvement in educational facilities.

Central Provinces.

In the Central Provinces, the previous year witnessed the passing of a Local Self-Government Act which will guide into proper channels the undoubtedly growing interest in public matters. The continued reduction of official members and chairmen, and the wider powers of control given to local bodies, will be an incentive to the development of local self-government, leading to an increased sense of public duty and responsibility. The municipal and district councils alike require development on the financial side before they can realize the opportunities lying before them. At present they are mainly dependent upon Government grants, and before their position can be pronounced satisfactory, local sources of revenue must be expanded. Recent grants for educational purposes have drawn attention to the need for an examination of the whole question of proportionate contribution by local bodies, and their use of the enhanced resources placed at their disposal by the new Local Self-Government Act. The cost to Government at the present time is very disproportionate to the contribution of the local bodies, being far in excess of what might be regarded as an equitable proportion of one-half.

N.-W. F. Province.

In the North-West Frontier Province, the institution of local self-government is somewhat of a foreign growth. Certain of the municipal committees are still lax in the discharge of their responsibilities, and meetings are reported to be infrequent, but the attendance of non-official members is gradually increasing. Except where factional and personal considerations were involved, the members of the municipalities still remained apathetic. The same statement is unfortunately true of district boards, whose

members, it is said, evince little real interest in their work. The positi
in the boards indeed is far from satisfactory. They are crippled fina
cially, and the work of the two important departments of "education
and "medical" is only carried on with the help of Government dol
These are allotted in the main by the heads of the Departments to me
specified expenditure, with the result that, as noted last year, the cont
of the Boards is merely nominal. Their expenditure increased with t
general rise of prices and salaries, and their income remained stationa
From the present sources it cannot increase materially. The memb
are apathetic, and are unlikely to face the odium of imposing fresh ta
ation even if given the power. For the present, the grant of Gover
ment subsidies appears to be the only way of maintaining the work
the boards; though it is possible that the members might take m
interest in the work if the boards were sub-divided. This measure wo
inevitably involve an increase of establishment, and cannot at pres
be adopted on the ground of expense.

As will be seen from this brief summary, the year 1921 has been o
of but moderate progress in the sphere of local self-government throu
out India. The difficulties at present existing are amply apparent fr
this account; and it must be clear that until means are found for incre
ing the responsibilities thrown upon local bodies, for awakening mu
nicipalities and district boards to the necessity of raising locally taxa
sufficient for the purpose of their local needs, and for encouraging th
to cultivate a sense of civic responsibility, no rapid development of
institution of local self-government in India can reasonably be expec
In short, the task before the new Ministries for local self-governmen
both arduous and difficult, although no one but a confirmed pessi
would pronounce it impossible.

Law and Order.

As a fitting conclusion to the account which has been given in
ceding pages of these progressive activ
upon which the prosperity of India depe
we may now consider very briefly the primary functions of a
nistration, apart from which stability and progress alike dissolve in
welter of anarchy. Of these functions, not the least important, and p
ably the most remarkable, is the maintenance of the public peace am
the millions who inhabit British India. Some outline of the obsta
encountered by the police in the course of their task of preserving
and order among a population of 270 millions has been given in
ceding reports. By way of briefly summarising these difficulties we

note that the people of India are composed of races more diverse from one another in their language, customs and physique than any to be found included within the boundaries of Europe. While many are in a state of civilisation which will bear comparison with that of Western countries, there are others who, habituated for centuries to a life of disorder, are only restrained by the strong arm of the administration from resuming their predatory habits at the expense of the peaceful and progressive sections of the population. It is not therefore surprising to find that in the course of any given year, the tasks undertaken by the Indian police include many which might well seem characteristic of widely separated epochs in the history of human development. At the one extreme, there comes the prevention of reckless driving on the part of chauffeurs in highly westernised cities like Calcutta, Madras and Rangoon, or the organisation of methods to cope with the skilled and ever-present railway-thief: at the other is the grim pursuit of freebooting bands through the tropical jungles of Burma, or the suppression of blood-feuds in some remote and uncivilised tract of Upper India. Between these wide and diverse limits are the intermittent ebullitions of popular excitement which almost every year convulse for a few days rural and urban communities of normally peaceful character; systematic burglaries, raids and robberies by gangs of bandits; and peasant mass movements similar in many respects to those which characterise certain periods of European history during the middle ages. From time to time, one or more of these species of criminal activity looms large in the public eye. One year it is dacoity; another year religious riots; on a third occasion rural anarchy. During the periods now surveyed, while no branch of crime has been deprived of a share of public attention, particular notice has been directed to thefts on railways. As a result, Government appointed an influential committee to examine the railway police system. This Committee discovered that the total value of property stolen on Indian railways does not fall short of one million sterling (rupees one crore) every year. The Committee recommended the re-organisation of the "Watch and Ward"; a special investigation agency in each province; and other measures for a more effective protection of goods in transit. It is hoped that this investigation will lead to a distinct improvement upon existing conditions.

Task of the Police.

Railway Thefts.

The force which has to meet such multifarious claims upon its efficiency and integrity consists of just over 1,000 officers of the rank of

Deputy Superintendent and of higher grades, and of some 202,0 officers and men of the lower ranks. In additio

The Police Force.

to these, there are about 30,000 officers an men of the military police, of whom more than half belong to Burm Obviously on account of the diverse nature of their duties, it is extremel important that even the subordinate ranks should consist of men picke for their intelligence, integrity and merit. But here, as in other branch of the Indian administration, considerations of finance exert their fette ing influence. The average annual cost of the policemen througho India amounts to less than 1 shilling per head of the population. It not therefore surprising that the constabulary in general, while remar ably efficient considering the money spent upon it, is much below t level of the corresponding force in England. At present only just ov half of the policemen of India can read and write. Till the force in oth provinces can be brought up to the 91 per cent. standard of litera that exists in Madras, it will be idle to expect a much higher standa of efficiency than is to be found at present. O

Improved Conditions.

late there have been consistent efforts on t part of the administration to improve the attraction of service in t police by bettering pay and prospects. Schemes for providing the ra and file with suitable accommodation, for maintaining a more adequa leave reserve and for increasing the rewards for good service, have lat been put into operation almost everywhere in India. Before this w done, an increasing shortage of men was causing anxiety to the autho ties; for small pay, heavy work and leave difficulties discouraged ma suitable men from joining the service. But as a result of the improv ments above mentioned, the police cadres are now beginning to fill Discipline shows steady signs of improvement and departmental puni ments are on the decline.

The variety of work which the Indian police are called upon to p form and the many different classes of crimi

Police and Public.

with whom they are compelled to deal, ma is extremely difficult for them to satisfy their ever-vigilant critics. methods, which are not only desirable but even essential when app to the suppression of highway robbery, naturally cause deep resentm a few miles away to a highly educated town population, accustome all the amenities of twentieth century existence, and intensely rese of anything approaching high-handedness on the part of police. The unpleasant duties of the force have not been e during the last year or two by the tense atmosphere of exciten

which has pervaded the politically-minded classes in India. The constabulary, being the arm of the administration with which the average citizen is brought mostly into contact, has to bear the brunt of any general unpopularity which the administration as a whole has gained for itself. Accordingly, therefore, the offences of the individual policemen are as a rule both widely advertised and consistently exaggerated, while the general good work of the force is too often passed over in silence. Moreover public opinion still tends to look upon the constable as a symbol of oppression and restraint. This is no doubt partly a consequence of his functions of maintaining order in times of political excitement, of arresting political leaders, who overstep the limits laid down by the law; and of conducting enquiries regarding alleged sedition. On the other hand it cannot be denied that there still exists a considerable but steadily decreasing amount of corruption among low paid subordinates who are exposed to temptation of every kind. The inherited tradition which identifies executive authority with arbitrary power, and refuses to believe that repression may spring from honest striving after public good, is also a factor in the unpopularity of the police. It is however satisfactory to note that there is a steady decrease in the volume of complaints of individual high-handedness brought against the force by the vocal section of Indian opinion. This may be taken to indicate an increasing appreciation on the part of the public at large of the difficulties and responsibilities of those whose duty it is to maintain the peace. The laws in force in India have been based on the assumption, which hitherto has not been generally justified, that the man in the street is actively on the side of law and order as against the criminal. In point of fact one of the most formidable obstacles in the way of successful police work has been the apathy of the public and the absence of that civic spirit as it exists in England. Unfortunately during the period under review, to this obstacle has been added the spirit of non-co-operation, either in its acute or sub-conscious form, which has thrown the police more than ever on their own resources. None the less, applications for police aid are constant, and an outbreak of serious crime immediately leads to a demand for an increase in the numbers and efficiency of the force. The withdrawal of an outpost from any locality, is almost invariably followed by protests, while petitions are constantly received for fresh locations. But just so long as the police are isolated from the public in their fight against disorder, it is difficult to see how the policeman can become what he has been so long in England, the friend and servant of the individual citizen. The dis-

sipation of the suspicion with which the police are regarded is a slow business and cannot be entirely achieved until the present atmosphere of unrest gives place to more settled conditions.

The Period Under Review.

During the year 1921-22, the police system of India has been exposed to a very severe strain. From every province come complaints that work of the normal kind has been very seriously hampered not only by the special complications of the political situation, but also by the antagonistic attitude adopted by the public. Generally speaking, the political situation has been so serious that police officers generally considered this branch of their duties as being entitled to the first call on their time and energy. Somewhat naturally, the criminal classes have not been slow to take advantage of the situation. A good example of the consequences is provided by the Punjab figures. Crime in this province during the year 1921 showed figures higher than any of the past 10 years with the exception of 1913. Cases of gang robbery number more than 115 in excess of the 1920 figures. There were also 117 more murders and nearly 5,000 more burglaries than in the preceding year. This is explained by an increase in what is practically defiance of the law; and though affected by the unfavourable economic conditions and the high prices prevalent, is largely a result of political unrest and persistent attempts to undermine authority in any form. Moreover, there have been serious attempts in many provinces to tamper with the loyalty of the force. Although a few misguided officers and men have been induced to resign on political grounds, the force as a whole throughout India has remained true to its salt. This is particularly noteworthy in view of the fact that the year has been exceptionally hard for the subordinate police, not merely on account of rising prices and economic difficulties, but on account of the popular odium which has attended them in the discharge of their duties to the State. But their conduct has been on the whole most praiseworthy. Numerous instances have come to notice in which individual members of the force of all ranks have shown bravery and devotion to duty of a high order, while the patience, tact, and good temper, which have been exhibited time after time in most trying circumstances have won for them unstinted praise from everyone who can view their work with an impartial eye. As we have already noticed, they have performed their duty under exceptionally difficult circumstances. So far from being able to look for assistance to the general public, they have frequently had to encounter very deliberate opposition. But as a whole, the force

has remained practically uninfluenced either by threats or by the more insidious forms of persuasion, and it is difficult to pay too high a tribute to the generally loyal and courageous manner in which all ranks have done their duty.

Disturbances.

Among the most notable of the disturbances with which the police have had to cope during the period under review may be mentioned those which broke out in Oudh and in other parts of the United Provinces where the tenancy laboured under a sense of agrarian and kindred grievances. This proved fertile soil for the dissemination of extremist doctrines, and the result has been seen in riots and disorders which could not be suppressed without bloodshed.

The disturbances in the United Provinces were perhaps more serious than any which occurred during the period under review, inasmuch as the extent of the area affected rendered their quick suppression difficult. But, as has already been related, almost every province in India has had to admit on one occasion or the other during the year 1921, disorders of a very grave nature. It is unnecessary here to repeat the accounts which have been given of the various riots and disorders in the chapters dealing with internal political situation; and we may content ourselves by pointing out that the police have been compelled in every case to bear the first brunt of the disorder. On no fewer than 70 occasions the aid of the military has been invoked; but in the great majority of instances the police have proved themselves equal to the task of restoring order after a breach of the peace has taken place. Their task has been beyond measure complicated by the organisation of the "Volunteers" as a militant and aggressive force. Indeed, until the proclamation of these bodies as unlawful associations came to the assistance of the police authorities, it was found difficult to make headway against consistent defiance which threatened at all times to result in violence. Towards the end of the period under review, fortunately, a reaction in public opinion due to the terrorism employed by the "volunteers" served to facilitate the execution by the police of their difficult and unpleasant duty; and indications are not wanting that the general public is beginning to realise the importance of safeguarding the elementary requisites of law and order by co-operating in a less grudging manner with their efforts.

Dacoity.

Considerable progress has been made in the suppression of gang robbery, which of late years has been so formidable in the United and Central Provinces.

The difficulty of suppressing dacoits is always increased by the fact that they terrorise the villagers by atrocities so horrible that few or none can be found to give evidence against them. But in 1921 as in 1920, the police definitely gained the upper hand over the gangs, and the figures of what may be called professional dacoities, as opposed to looting and violence by small gangs of bad characters in times of public excitement, show a gratifying decline. No little credit for the triumph of the police over this particular form of crime is due to the hearty co-operation of the authorities of the Indian States as well as to the great gallantry of the police force itself. The increasing resistance offered by villagers when attacked by brigands is a symptom of growing confidence in the strength of law and order; and Bengal in particular reports a considerable increase in the number of private citizens who are co-operating with the police in the suppression of organised crime.

Anarchy.

It is encouraging to find that during the year 1921 anarchical crime has practically ceased. There is every reason to hope indeed that with the increasingly rapid advance of India towards self-governing institutions, the party which hopes to attain self-government by violent ends will steadily disappear. The spirit of the times has changed greatly, and young idealists, similar to those who too often represented the flower of youthful patriotism in Bengal can now, if they will, find an outlet for their energies which is more profitable at once for their country and for themselves than the pursuit of anarchical crime. During the period under review, this party has been largely captured by the idealism of Mr. Gandhi's movement: but it is much to be hoped that before long its members will perceive the opportunities of political advancement which are inherent in the Reform Scheme. That the party of anarchy is still alive is unfortunately proved by the occurrences of certain robberies with political motives during 1921. But the steady growth of effective public opinion against enterprises of this kind is perhaps even more responsible for their suppression than the valuable activities of the Criminal Investigation Department. The ready help afforded during the year by peacefully disposed persons in bringing dangerous criminals to justice, serves to indicate a development which is full of promise for the near future.

Jails.

In India as elsewhere, a necessary part of the machinery by which society secures its own protection is constituted by the jail system. Mention was made in last

year's report of the changes which are being introduced therein. At present, since the management of jails is a provincial "transferred" subject, it is conducted by Local Governments in widely different fashions. In previous years also, there has been too little intercommunication between the agencies responsible for this work in the different provinces, with the result that local administrations do not always derive the benefit which comes from pooling experiences. To a considerable degree, uniformity of procedure in all provinces is not merely undesirable but also impossible on account of widely varying conditions. But the advisability of proceeding on certain general principles of uniform application has never been forgotten, and as a result of recent developments, is being steadily secured. Mention was made in last year's report of the work of a committee appointed to investigate the whole question of prisons administration. The Jails Committee visited many prisons and industrial and reformatory schools in Great Britain, in addition to touring in the United States, Japan, the Philippine Islands and Hongkong. Their report constituted the first general survey of Indian prison administration which has been made for thirty years and contained many recommendations likely to have a far-reaching effect. In general, it laid stress upon the necessity of improving and increasing the existing accommodation; of recruiting a better class of warders; of providing education for prisoners; and of developing prison industries so as to meet the needs of consuming departments of Government. It also recommended the creation of childrens' courts; the adoption of the English system of release on license; and the separation of civil from criminal offenders. During the period under review, many changes were initiated by local Governments as a result of these recommendations. The main problem which has for several years confronted the Jails Departments is that of overcrowding—a problem which, the conclusions of the committee show, is not likely to be solved without much expenditure. In particular, the decision to abandon Port Blair in the Andamans as a penal settlement will involve in many provinces the erection of a new central jail at considerable cost. In view of the financial stringency, many projected improvements have had to be kept in abeyance for lack of funds. But programmes of jail construction have been prepared, and will be put into execution as soon as possible. Such minor improvements recommended by the Committee as could be effected without large expenditure,

The Jails Committee.

have in almost every case been carried out as far as practical. Increased provision has been made to meet the religious needs of different sections of the communities, and non-official visitors have been appointed in various places. There have, however, been some-what serious outbreaks in large jails during the period under review, which are to be ascribed mainly to exaggerated reports of political events coming to the ears of the prisoners. It is unnecessary to particularise these in detail, since it suffices to say that in the majority of cases they did not arise from any complaint or grievance on the part of the prisoners at the treatment to which they were subjected. The question of special treatment for political prisoners,

Jail Outbreaks.

"Political" Prisoners.

discussed by the Jails Committee, was brought forcibly to notice towards the end of the period under review by the arrest of a large number of non-co-operators for their defiance of authority. Indian public opinion demanded decisively that persons of high character, who were imprisoned for what were only, in certain quarters, regarded as merely technical breaches of the law, should be treated in a manner radically different from their fellow-prisoners who have been incarcerated for other offences. The question had already been considered by the Government of India. Local Governments, generally speaking, framed rules in the spirit of the Jails Committee's recommendations, and provided very lenient treatment for prisoners of this class; and although many complaints regarding the treatment of political prisoners appeared in the press towards the close of 1921 and in the early months of 1922, prompt investigation and wide publication of the actual facts went far to satisfy those whose protests were based upon a genuine desire to safeguard high-minded, if mistaken, individuals.

While there are grounds for believing that the administration of Indian jails has a good deal to learn from improvements introduced during recent years in western countries, it would be a mistake to imagine that many of the problems investigated by Indian Jails Committee have not for many years been the subject of study in India. Here as elsewhere, increasing attention is paid to the ameliorative treatment of criminals and to the possibility of reclaiming them for decent society. Much progress in this direction has been made, and prisoners are now taught useful trades which will enable them on their release to earn an honest livelihood. This is simplified by the fact that by far the largest proportion of prisoners—some 100 out of a total average prison population of

Recent Developments.

than 127,000, come from the agricultural community. The experiment is now being tried of teaching these men the latest agricultural improvements under the supervision of the local Agricultural Departments. Classes of prisoners are taken round to various fields of demonstration farms, and jail farms now exist in many places. It should further be pointed out that jail industries of various kinds, such as printing, oil pressing, brick and tile making, carpet weaving, paper making and weaving have long been carried on with success and have now attained a development which enables them to pay some proportion of the expenses of the whole system. During the year 1919, the latest date for which figures are available at the time of writing, £250,000 out of a total cost of £1·5 millions has been met by the earnings of the prisoners themselves. It is hoped that with the increasing development of jail industries, this proportion will be considerably enlarged.

Welfare Work.

The treatment of youthful prisoners in India follows the lines now laid down by modern administrations in other parts of the world. The Borstal system is flourishing in several provinces, and excellent work is being done by the boys in industrial classes. The provision of sound industrial training for youthful prisoners, and their segregation from other offenders is of course a generally accepted policy. But in India as elsewhere, the ultimate success of any movement for reclaiming prisoners, whether youthful or adult, must remain in the hands of the general public. Valuable work is now being done for discharged prisoners by the voluntary welfare organisations which exist in various parts of India. The Salvation Army, here as elsewhere, makes a special point of caring for discharged prisoners and providing a respectable livelihood for men conditionally released. Its work is deserving of the utmost sympathy and support. In Bombay and in several other large centres, Released Prisoners' Aid Societies are performing a valuable function; and during the period under review, a number of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies have been established in Madras to attend to the welfare of prisoners after their release. But all that is at present accomplished by such voluntary organisations is a mere fraction of what might be done for the reclamation of released prisoners; and if only the general public can be sufficiently interested in this most important social question, progress in the near future may be expected to be more satisfactory.

Legislation.

We may now turn to a brief survey of the law-making activities of the legislatures of India during the period under review. It should be remembered that, as a

result of the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the law-making bodies of India have undergone considerable modifications in their size and in their composition. In the local Legislative Councils, the proportion of official members has been fixed at a maximum of not more than 20 per cent; while the size of the Councils has been much enlarged. In Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and the United Provinces, for example, the number of members of the legislature varies from 111 to 125. In the case of Bihar and Orissa, the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Assam, the number varies from 83 to 53. But whether the Legislative Councils be large or small—a fact dictated by the size and population of the province—the elected members are invariably in a predominance of at least 70 per cent. As to the activities of the new Provincial Councils, mention has been made from time to time in the course of our review of the activities of the year. In testimony to their law-making activities it is only necessary to cite, in the briefest possible way, certain of the local Acts and Regulations which they passed during the yea

Provincial Legislation.

1921. It is perhaps in the sphere of local self-government that th provincial Legislative Councils have been most active. In Madras during the period under review, there were passed 3 Acts dealing wit this subject: the Madras District Municipalities Amendment Act the Madras City Municipal Amendment Act, and a second Madra District Municipalities Amendment Act. From Bombay come 2 Cit of Bombay Municipal Amendment Acts; from the Punjab come n fewer than 5 Local Government Acts. These are the Village Panchaya Act, the Small Towns Act, the Municipal Amendment Act, the Tow Improvement Act, and another Municipal Amendment Act. Burm provides a Rural Self-Government Act and a Village Amendment Act while Bengal has a Calcutta Municipal Act. In the sphere of lan revenue, legislation was also active. Bombay passed a Land Revenu Code Amendment Act; Bengal, a Land Registration Amendment Act the United Provinces, the Oudh Tenancy Act. Education was also matter with which the provincial legislatures were much concerne From the United Provinces came an Intermediate Education Act, a the Allahabad University Act. Madras and Bengal had Primary Ed cation Acts, and Bills in connection with the same subject were und consideration in several other legislatures. In addition to the foregoin there was a great deal of miscellaneous legislation of a kind necessitat by the transfer of so many subjects, hitherto controlled by the Centr Government, to the authority of the new provincial administration

A Typical Provincial Legislature.

It is impossible to deal in detail with the activities of the provincial legislatures, if only because considerations of space prohibit such a course. But it may perhaps be of interest to review the activities, in brief, of a legislature which may be considered in many ways typical of its sister bodies, that is, the Legislative Council of the Presidency of Bengal. The work of the Council during the year 1921 was dominated, on the one hand, by the serious financial difficulties of the province consequent on the allocation of funds recommended by the Meston Committee; and, on the other hand, by the fact that the major portion of such legislation as was ready for introduction into the Council related to transferred subjects and could not be brought forward until the Ministers in charge of those subjects had had a full opportunity of scrutinising the proposals and amending them to suit their policy. The result was that, except for the practical work of dealing with the Budget, the constructive activity of the Council was largely limited to recommendations by way of resolutions, and general criticism of the policy of Government. None the less, the legislative work was by no means negligible. We have already noticed the Acts for the amendment of land registration and of primary education. Mention must also be made of the Act fixing the emoluments of the Deputy President; of the Bengal Children Bill; of the Calcutta Municipal Act; and of the Bengal Aerial Rope-ways Bill. All these were official in their origin. Notice of two Bills was given by non-official members: one—the Bengal Tenancy Amendment Bill—was thrown out at the first reading; and the other—the Bengal Muhammadan Marriages and Divorces Registration Bill—was introduced. During the year, notice was received of 505 resolutions, of which 157 were discussed, 69 were carried, 18 lost, and 70 withdrawn. Of questions, 1,293 were asked during the year. The Council's powers in the matter of finance were exercised in connection with the fixing of the salaries of the Deputy President of the Council and of the Ministers; in connection with motions for reductions of grants at the time of the Budget, and similar motions in regard to supplementary grants. There was a keen discussion on the question of the Ministers' salaries, and the motions to reduce these were eventually defeated by a large majority. The most important reduction of a grant was a comprehensive cut of 23 lakhs under the head Police, which is a reserved subject. A motion for the adjournment of the House followed as a result of this reduction, and the subsequent debate showed that a large number of members who had voted for the reduc-

tion wished to reconsider their position if they could obtain further details in regard to the requirements of the Police Department. His Excellency the Governor was approached in this matter, and agreed to convene a special session in April, on which the Council restored the amount, except for a few reductions in matters of detail. The decision of the Council in regard to the stopping of work on the partition of Mymensingh was accepted by the Governor, but he "certified" certain expenditure in order that the work might be closed down. The expenditure on the creation of a new district headquarters at Hijli was also certified by His Excellency, but in view of the financial position, he subsequently decided to postpone any further expenditure on this project. In connection with the acquisition of land for police buildings in Calcutta, a sum of nearly 3 lakhs was certified. The Governor also exercised his powers of restoration on the reserved side in respect of some part of the grants for a few other items. Generally speaking, however, the decision of the Council prevailed upon all matters in regard to which public opinion was deeply exercised. This statement is broadly true of every Provincial Council in India during the period under review.

The Central Legislature.

Turning now to the activities of the Central Legislature of India, we may notice that it also has been radically remodelled as a recent result of constitutional changes. In consequence of the last Government of India Act, there has been set up a bicameral body, known collectively as the Indian Legislature, consisting of two Chambers, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, which replace the old single chamber legislature of the Central Government. The Council of State consists of 59 members, of whom 33 are elected, and 26 nominated. Of the nominated members, 19 are officials. The Legislative Assembly consists of 143 members, of whom 103 are elected, and 40 nominated. Of the nominated members, 25 are officials. It is thus obvious that in both chambers the elected members predominate decisively. An analysis of the members who stood successfully for election is of some interest. Taking the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly together, we find that the elected members, classified by religion, include 70 Hindus, 42 Muhammadans, 13 Christians, 5 Parsis, 4 Sikhs, and 2 Buddhists. According to an analysis by profession, the members consist of 46 lawyers (4 in the Council and 42 in the Assembly); 42 landholders (17 in the Council and 25 in the Assembly); 26 merchants, traders and business men (9 in the Council and 17 in the Assembly): 6 retired Government officials; one professor,

one political pensioner, one confectioner, one grocer, and 12 members whose professions are unclassified.

In the course of the chapters dealing with the internal condition of India during the year 1921-22, a brief account has been given of the manner in which the new Central Legislature discharged the responsibilities which fell to it. An examination in somewhat more detail of other aspects of its work serves to confirm the impression of dignity and sobriety generally voiced by those outside observers who have had the opportunity of witnessing the debates from the seclusion of the press-gallery. Taking first of all the Delhi session of 1921, we may notice that the Council of State met on 18 occasions. Notice was received of 273 questions, of which 233 were actually answered. The number of resolutions of which notice was received was 63, and of these 36 were actually moved in the Council. No Bill was introduced into the Council of State by any non-official member, but 5 Government Bills were introduced, of which 4 were passed without amendment or reference to Select Committee. Of the Bills which originated in the Legislative Assembly and were subsequently considered in the Council of State, the Indian Finance Bill for the year was perhaps the most important. Out of 43 amendments of which notice was received, 15 amendments were finally carried in the Council and accepted by the Assembly. Six Bills were passed by the Council of State without amendment. These included the Bills for fixing the salary of the Deputy President of the Legislative Assembly; for imposing an indigo cess; for the reconstitution of the Calcutta University; for duties on the import and export of goods; for the imposition of an Indian tea cess; and for certain matters in connection with Hindu transfers and bequests. Many very important resolutions were discussed in the Council of State during the session now being reviewed; perhaps the most weighty were two moved by the Hon'ble Mr. (now the Rt. Honourable) Srinivasa Sastri; of which one related to the appointment of a Committee to consider repeal of the "repressive" laws, and the other to the amendment of enactments in regard to the use of fire-arms for the purpose of suppressing disturbances. In the discussion on the first resolution, the Home Member, on behalf of Government, assured the Council that a Committee would be appointed as desired by the mover and cited the Regulations and Acts which Government intended to include in the scope of its recommendations. The second resolution, which led to a lengthy discussion, was put to the

The Delhi Session, 1921.

The Council of State.

vote part by part, and 6 out of the 8 clauses were negatived in consequence of the opposition of Government. Among other important resolutions mention may be made of one put forward by the Honourable Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, recommending that the Home Government be addressed with a view to the grant of fiscal autonomy to India. A modification of the resolution by the addition of the words " with due regard to their responsibilities under the Government of India Act," which was put forward by the Member for Commerce, was adopted by the Council of State. Other commercial and industrial questions indeed attracted a considerable amount of notice. Resolutions were proposed by various members recommending a committee to explore the possibilities of the improvement of the existing Government stocks; recommending the removal, as soon as circumstances should permit, of the restrictions on the export of food-grains; recommending an enquiry into the exchange situation, with a view to relieving the existing tension; and recommending that India should secure an adequate share of the indemnities and reparations to be obtained from Germany. Among those questions which excited deep interest from their connection with the existing political situation mention may be made of a resolution suggesting that full consideration be given to public opinion in India before any matters affecting the religious susceptibilities of Indian subjects were decided; of a resolution recommending the release of prisoners sentenced by Martial Law courts—which was withdrawn; and of a resolution recommending the establishment of a separate Department to watch and safeguard the rights and interests of Indians over-seas. This last was also withdrawn when the Member for Commerce gave an assurance that every consideration would be given to suggestions in connection with the position of Indians abroad when the Bill to amend the Emigration Act was taken into consideration.

Legislative Assembly.

Turning now to the Legislative Assembly, we may notice that this body met on 28 occasions during the Delhi session of 1921. Notice was received of 864 questions of which replies were given to 696. Indeed owing to the large number of questions received, and the limited time allotted for questions and answers, the President found it necessary to introduce certain modifications in the practice which had obtained in the old Imperial Council. The number of resolutions of which notices were received was 147, of which 54 were ballotted for, and 33—25 non-official, and 8 official—actually moved in the Assembly. Of these, the most important concerned the martial law administration in the Punjab, moved by

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas—of which a sufficient account has already been given in the preceding pages; the appointment of a committee to examine press legislation, moved by Mr. O'Donnell; an enquiry into the non-co-operation movement, moved by Mr. Mahomed Yamin Khan; various questions arising from the Army in India Committee's Report, moved by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer; and the repeal of the "repressive" measures, moved by Dr. Nand Lal. These resolutions were keenly debated. The first, as we have already noticed, was accepted unanimously after a prolonged and animated debate, with the omission of clause 3 recommending the infliction of deterrent punishment on officers found guilty of improper conduct. The second led to a long and interesting discussion, in the course of which Sir William Vincent narrated the history of the Indian press, and dealt with the circumstances which led to the passing of the Press Act in 1910. Two amendments, one proposed by Chaudhri Shahabuddin, recommending that not less than two-thirds of the members of the Committee, which was to investigate the Press Act, should be non-officials, and the other moved by Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar, asking for the inclusion of the Newspaper Incitements Act of 1908 among the measures to be examined by the Committee, were accepted. Mr. Mahomed Yamin Khan's Resolution, recommending that a committee of elected non-officials and officials be appointed to investigate thoroughly the real or supposed cause of the trouble leading to non-co-operation and to suggest remedial measures, was negatived after a long debate; the Home Member being successful in convincing the Assembly that the Committee would serve no useful purpose. Much attention was devoted to the Esher Committee's Report. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer put forward a resolution recommending that the proposals contained in paragraphs 1 and 2 of the report be not accepted, and that the Army in India be put under the control of the Government of India free from any domination or interference by the War Office. The Resolution, in a modified form, was eventually adopted. On a later date Chaudhri Shahabuddin proposed that a committee consisting of members of the Legislative Assembly be appointed to consider the Esher Committee's Report and to make recommendations thereon. This was unanimously accepted. Finally, towards the end of the session, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer moved 15 resolutions, arising out of the recommendations of the Esher Committee, in regard to the administration and organization of the Army in India. Of these, 10 were accepted by the Assembly without any amendments, and the remainder, with the exception of a proposal to entrust the portfolio of defence to a civilian

member of the Viceroy's Council, were accepted, with various alterations. A resolution, which stood in the name of Mr. B. H. Jatkar, recommending that all repressive measures be discontinued, was, in view of the desire of the House that the matter should be discussed, moved by Dr. Nand Lal in default of the original proposer. Sir William Vincent in an important speech declared that the policy of Government was based on the principle of promoting the progress of the country towards responsibility, while at the same time preserving public tranquility. After a somewhat heated debate the resolution, as amended by the Home Secretary in such a manner as to introduce the words "as far as possible," and to restrict its scope to the non-co-operation movement, was adopted. Many other resolutions of considerable, if miscellaneous, importance were discussed by the Legislative Assembly during the Delhi session.

The Simla Session.

The work which was performed by the central legislature, when it met in Simla in September 1921 was quite comparable in importance with that which had already been performed in Delhi. The number of questions received in the Council of State showed a slight decline, standing at 266, as against 273 for the Delhi session; while the number actually replied to was 206, as against 233. In the Council of State the number of resolutions of which notice was received was exactly the same as had been the case at Delhi, but the number actually moved fell from 36 to 22. No Bill was introduced into the Council by any non-official member, but 7 Bills put forward by Government were passed by the Council of State without amendment or reference to Select Committee. Seven Bills passed by the Legislative Assembly were also endorsed by the Council of State without any amendment. Among the most interesting of the resolutions moved during the Simla session in the Council of State were those inviting the co-operation of the Legislative Assembly in drafting an address of welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and moving a resolution of welcome to His Excellency Lord Reading. Certain questions of considerable constitutional importance were also discussed in resolutions. Among them may be mentioned a recommendation by Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy that the Council of State be authorised to receive from the public petitions relating to public wrongs, grievances or disabilities; and a proposal by the Honourable Saiyid Raza Ali recommending the removal of the highly centralised system of administration in India under which many classes of officials have great powers. The first was withdrawn on the offer of Government to appoint a committee to examine the constitu-

tional position; while the second was rejected. Economic matters continued to receive a large share of the attention of the Council of State. A resolution by the Honourable Lala Sukhbir Sinha, recommending the stoppage of the export of wheat or flour till the next *rabi* harvest, was carried. A resolution on the standardisation of weights and measures throughout India was adopted, in a modified form. A resolution, calling on Government to declare its policy to exercise, in concert with the Indian legislature, the fiscal powers conferred upon it, was withdrawn when the Secretary in the Commerce Department pointed out that Government had every intention of exercising its powers in this matter to the full. Overseas questions also occupied a considerable proportion of the Council's time. A resolution recommending that the administration of Aden should be continued under the Government of India, and should not be transferred to the Colonial Office, was discussed at some length and eventually adopted by the Council. Another resolution recommending that steps be taken to secure equality of status for Indians in South Africa proved similarly acceptable.

The Legislative Assembly.

The Legislative Assembly met 15 times in the course of the Simla session, while meetings of joint or select committees took place on 17 days. The number of questions increased considerably, as compared with the Delhi session, now standing at 947. Of these, 762 were eventually replied to, as against 696 at Delhi. In view of the large number of questions received, the President introduced a system of starred and unstarred questions, such as is in force in the House of Commons. The number of resolutions as compared with the Delhi session increased from 147 to 238. Of these, 61 were ballotted for, and 28, that is, 20 non-official and 8 official, were actually moved, as compared with 33 in Delhi. Of the resolutions moved, 18, that is to say, 10 non-official and 8 official, were adopted, in some cases in a modified form, by the Assembly, the rest being either withdrawn or negatived. Of those discussed, the more important dealt with the welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and the welcome to His Excellency the Earl of Reading; with the removal of distinctions in trials of Indians and non-Indians; with the separation of judicial and executive functions; with the re-constitution of the provinces of India; with the establishment of Indian autonomy; with the equalisation of the number of Indians and Europeans in certain posts; and with the recruitment for all-India services. The resolutions were debated at such length that the number disposed of per day varied only from 2 to 3. The discussion on Mr. Samarth's resolution for the

removal of distinctions in trials of Indians and non-Indians, aroused great interest and led to a long and animated debate. The European members taking part in it appealed to the House not to come to any decision on the main issue until the whole question had been carefully examined; while the non-official Indian members urged that there should be no question as to the acceptance of the principle underlying the resolution, and that the only matter for consideration was the method of giving effect to it. The Home Member moved an amendment proposing the appointment of a committee to consider the desirability of amending those provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure differentiating between Indians and Europeans in criminal trials. A further amendment pressing upon the Assembly the acceptance of the principle that all distinctions between Indians and Europeans should be removed was carried, and the resolution in its amended form was adopted by the Assembly. Considerable interest was also excited by a resolution regarding the appointment of a committee of officials and non-officials for preparing a scheme for the separation of judicial and executive functions. This was opposed by Government on the ground that the matter was one within the discretion of the local administrations. After a heated discussion, the resolution was nevertheless carried. Another absorbing debate arose from the resolution of Rai J. N. Majumdar Bahadur for the early establishment of Indian autonomy. The mover proposed to transfer all provincial subjects to the administration of the Governor acting with ministers; to transfer from among the central subjects all subjects, except the army, navy and Foreign and Political Departments, to the Governor General, acting with ministers; and to confer full dominion self-government on India. The resolution was very keenly debated, and was adjourned from one meeting to another. The majority of non-official members, while supporting the principle underlying the resolution, were not prepared to accept it in the form in which it had been moved; and the House accepted a formula, proposed by Sir William Vincent, to the effect that the Government of India should convey to the Secretary of State the view of the Assembly that the progress made by India on the path to responsible government warranted a re-examination and revision of the constitution at an earlier date than 1930. Among the more interesting of the miscellaneous resolutions, mention may be made of one for the repeal of the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act, which was withdrawn by the mover; one for the appointment of a Committee to report on the best means of preserving the purity of administration,

which was also withdrawn after assurances had been given by the Government Member in charge; one regarding the fixing of the capital of India in a place possessing a salubrious and temperate climate throughout the year, which was unanimously rejected by the House; and a series of six resolutions dealing with the limitation of hours in the fishing industry and the establishment of a national seamen's code, with unemployment insurance for seamen, the minimum age for admission of children to employment at sea, and unemployment indemnity in case of loss or foundering of a ship, and with facilities for finding employment for seamen. These resolutions were carried, after slight discussion.

On the whole, it may be said that the record of the work of the Legislative Assembly and of the Council of State during the year 1921 has been of a high quality. The time spent in debating resolutions has been very great; but the positive achievements in the way of legislation, and of adjustment in views between the legislature and the executive, constitute a harvest of no mean or negligible proportions.

APPENDIX I.

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APPENDIX II.

The Report of the Press Act Committee.

In accordance with the instructions contained in the Home Department Resolution no. 534, dated the 21st March 1921, we the members of the Committee appointed by the Government of India to examine the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, the Indian Press Act, 1910, and the Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act, 1908, have the honour to report for the information of Government and such action as they may think desirable, our conclusions on the questions referred to us for examination.

2. These conclusions have, we may state, been reached after a careful survey of the political situation, an exhaustive examination of witnesses who appeared before us, and a scrutiny of voluminous documentary evidence including the valuable and weighty opinions of local Governments placed at our disposal by the Government of India as well as of memoranda submitted to us by various members of the public. Many of these memoranda were sent in response to a general invitation issued by the Government of India to those interested in the subject under discussion to communicate their views to Government for the information of the Committee. We have examined orally 18 witnesses, all connected with the Press, and we also invited eight other prominent journalists to give evidence. To our great regret they were, however, either unable or in some cases unwilling to accept our invitation.

The Indian Press Act.

3. Of the Acts referred to us for examination, the Indian Press Act, 1910, is by far the most important and it will therefore be convenient, if, in the first place, we record our conclusions in respect of that Act. This is the more desirable because our recommendations in respect of the other two Acts referred to us must be largely dependent on our findings regarding this measure.

It is necessary to discuss in this report the reasons which induced the Government of India to place the Indian Press Act on the statute book. Those who are interested in the subject will find the facts fully explained in the reports of the discussions on the Bill in Council. It is apparent, however, that the main object of the Act was to prevent the dissemination of incitements to violence and of sedition, although the scope of section 4 of the Act is much wider. Since 1910, however, circumstances have changed very materially and we have to consider the necessity for the continuance of this law in the light of a political situation entirely different from that in which it was enacted.

The Chief Questions.

4. The chief questions that have to be examined in our opinion are, firstly, whether the Act has been effective in preventing the evil against which it was

directed; secondly, whether legislation of this character is now necessary for the maintenance of law and order; and, thirdly, whether, on a comparison of the advantages and disadvantages which the retention of the Act would involve, its continuance is desirable in the public interest. We may say at the outset that on a careful consideration of these points we are of opinion that the Act should be repealed.

5. As to the effectiveness of the Act, it is generally admitted that direct incitements to murder and violent crime, which are specially referred to in Section 4 (1) (*a*) of the Act, are rarely found in the Press to-day. This was not the case in 1910, so far as a certain section of the Press was concerned, and it is the view of at least one local Government that the Press Act has contributed to the elimination of such public incitements. We are not, however, satisfied that the cessation of such incitements is due solely or even mainly to the act or that, in present conditions, the ordinary law is not adequate to deal with such offences. Further it must be admitted that, in so far as the law was directed to prevent the more insidious dissemination of sedition, of general misrepresentation of the action of Government, of exaggerations of comparatively minor incidents, of insinuations of injustice and of articles intended to exacerbate racial feeling, the Act has been of little practical value, for we find that a section of the Press at present is just as hostile to Government as ever it was, and that it preaches doctrines calculated to bring the Government, and also occasionally particular classes or sections of the community, into hatred and contempt, as freely now as before the Act was passed.

Moreover, we believe that the more direct and violent forms of sedition are now disseminated more from the platform and through the agency of itinerary propagandists than by the Press, and no Press law can be effective for the repression of such activities. In our opinion, therefore, it must be admitted that the Act has not been wholly effective in securing the object which it was enacted to achieve. We observe that one witness before us went so far as to say that it had both been futile and irritating.

An Emergency Measure.

6. Turning to the question of the necessity for such legislation, we find that it was an emergency measure enacted at a time when revolutionary conspiracies, the object of which was directly promoted by certain organs of the Press, were so active as to endanger the administration. We believe that this revolutionary party is now quiescent, that the associations supporting it have been broken up, and that many members of the revolutionary party have realized that the object which they had in view can, under present conditions, be acheived by constitutional means. Further the political situation has undergone great changes since 1910, and the necessity for the retention of the Act must be examined in the light of the new constitutional position created by the inauguration of the Reforms.

Many of us feel that the retention of this law is, in these circumstances, not only unnecessary, but incompatible with the increasing association of representatives of the people in the administration of the country. We believe also that the malignant influence of seditious organs of the Press will, in future, be, and in fact is already beginning to be, counteracted by the growth of distinct parties in politics, each supported by its own press, supplemented by the activities of a properly organized bureau of information, the value of which was admitted by many witnesses.

It is true the scope of the Act is not limited to the prevention of sedition, but it is not necessary for us to discuss in detail the subsidiary provisions included in Section 4 of the Act, as we believe that these provisions have seldom been used and

that the evils against which they are directed can be checked by the ordinary law. We think, therefore, that under present conditions the retention of the Act for the purposes for which it was enacted is unnecessary.

Bitter Hostility to the Act.

7. On an examination of the third aspect of the case, *viz.*, the comparative advantages and disadvantages of retaining the Act, we find that, while many local Governments advocate its retention in the interests of the administration, on the other hand the Act is regarded with bitter hostility by nearly all shades of Indian opinion. Most of the witnesses examined before us believe it to be indefensible in principle and unjust in its application. It has been said that the terms of Section 4 of the Act are so comprehensive that legitimate criticism of Government might well be brought within its scope, that the Act is very uncertain in its operation, that it has been applied with varying degrees of rigour at different times and by different local Governments, and in particular that it has not been applied with equal severity to English owned and Indian owned papers.

A general feeling was also apparent among the witnesses that the Act is irritating and humiliating to Indian journalism, and that the resentment caused by the measure is the more bitter because of the great services rendered to Government by the Press in the war.

Many witnesses, indeed, are of opinion that the Act is fatal to the growth of a healthy spirit of responsibility in the Press and that it deters persons of ability and independent character from joining the profession of journalism.

Finally it is maintained that the Act places in the hands of the executive Government arbitrary powers not subject to adequate control by any independent tribunal, which may be used to suppress legitimate criticism of Government, and that such a law is entirely inconsistent with the spirit of the Reforms Scheme and the gradual evolution of responsible Government.

Repeal Recommended.

8. There is, in our judgment, great force in many of these criticisms. We find, as already noted, that the Act has not proved effective in preventing the dissemination of sedition and that it is doubtful whether it is necessary o retain it for the purpose of preventing incitements to murder and similar violent crime

Further, in view of the cogent criticisms made as to the principles and operation of the Act, we have come to the conclusion that it would be in the interests of the administration th t it should be repealed. In making this recommendation we have not overlooked the opinion expressed by various local Governments that the retention of the Act is desirable in the interest of law and order. We observe, however, that there is a considerable divergence of opinion among these Governments on this point, and while we realise that the views of those who are opposed to the repeal of the Act are entitled to great weight, and indeed that these views have been accepted by the Government of India frequently in times past, we are satisfied that there is a genuine popular demand for its repeal and we consider that in the altered circumstances created by the Reforms, the advantages likely to be secured by repeal of this measure outweigh the benefits which could be obtained by its retention on the statute book.

9. In our examination of the question of the repeal of the Press Act, we also considered the further question as to which, if any, of its provisions should be retained by incorporation in other laws. Various questions have been placed before us in this connection, some of greater and some of minor importance.

Position of Princes.

Perhaps the most important of these is the question whether the dissemination of disaffection against Indian Princes through the Press of British India should be penalized in any way. We have been handicapped in our examination of this question by very inadequate representation of the views of the Princes, many of whom were unwilling to allow their opinions to be placed before the Committee. We have, however, had the advantage of seeing some minutes submitted by them and of examining Sir John Wood, Secretary of the Political Department. It has been argued that the Government of India is under an obligation to protect Indian Princes from such attacks, that the Press Act alone affords them such protection, and that if it is repealed it is unfair, having regard to the constitutional position of the Government of India *vis-a-vis* the Indian States, that the Press in British India should be allowed to foment disaffection against the ruler of an Indian State. On the other hand various witnesses have protested in the strongest terms against any such protection being afforded to Princes. It is alleged that the effect of any such provision in the law would be to stifle all legitimate criticism and deprive the subjects of such States of any opportunity of ventilating their grievances and protesting against maladministration or oppression. We understood that, before the Press Act became law, it was not found necessary to protect Indian Princes from such attacks and we note that the Act, so far as the evidence before us shows, has only been used on three occasions for this purpose.

We do not, in the circumstances, think that we should be justified in recommending, on general grounds, any enactment, in the Penal Code or elsewhere for the purpose of affording such protection, in the absence of evidence to prove the practical necessity for such a provision of the law. Our colleague, Mir Asad Ali, desires to express no opinion on this question.

Confiscation of Presses.

10. We have also considered the question of vesting Courts of Justice with power to confiscate a Press if the keeper is convicted for the second time of disseminating sedition. Although Section 517 of the Criminal Procedure Code affords some faint authority for the enactment of such a provision in the law, we feel that it would operate inequitably, particularly in the case of large and valuable presses, used not only for the printing of a particular paper, but also for other miscellaneous work. In the case of smaller presses, the forfeiture of the press would probably not be an effective remedy and on a careful consideration of the facts we doubt the necessity for inserting any such provision in the law.

11. There is, indeed, only one provision of the Act which, we think, should be retained, namely the power to seize and confiscate newspapers, books or other documents, which offend against the provisions of Section 124-A of the Penal Code. If this power is retained, the auxiliary power of preventing the importation into British India, of transmission through the post, of such documents, on the lines now provided for in Sections 13, 14 and 15 of the Indian Press Act, is a necessary corollary if the law is to be effective.

Openly Seditious Documents.

12. The confiscation of openly seditious documents in no way, we believe, constitutes an interference with the reasonable liberty of the Press and the openly seditious character of some of the documents which are now circulated in India has convinced us of the necessity of retaining this power as a regular provision of the substantive law.

The exact method by which this should be effected is, we think, a matter for the expert advisers of the Government of India to decide. We would, however, also provide for redress in cases in which the owner of a press or any person interested in the production of any such document or in the possession of any particular copy of the document consider himself aggrieved, by allowing such persons to apply to the High Court and challenge the seizure and confiscation of the document. We would also provide that when such an application is made the onus of proving the seditious character of the document should be on the Government. We think that the power conferred by sections 13 to 15 of the Press Act might be conveniently incorporated in the Sea Customs Act and Post Office Act, so that the customs and postal officers should be empowered to seize seditious literature within the meaning of Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code, subject to review on the part of the Government and to challenge, by any person interested in the courts.

We recommend that in this case, and in the case of seditious leaflets seized under the conditions referred to in the earlier portions of this paragraph, the orders of the Government should be liable to be contested in the High Court.

It follows almost of necessity, from what we have said about the Press Act, that we recommend the total repeal of the Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act, 1908. We may observe that this Act has not been used for the last 10 years.

Registration of Editors.

13. As to the Press and Registration of Books Act, we recommend that this Act should be retained with the following modifications:—

(1) That no person should be registered as a publisher or printer unless he is a major, as defined by the Indian Majority Act.

(2) That in the case of all newspapers, the name of the responsible Editor should be clearly printed on the front sheet of the paper and that an editor should be subject to the same criminal and civil liability in respect of anything contained in the paper as the publisher and printer.

(3) That the term of imprisonment prescribed in Sections 12, 13, 14, 15 should be reduced to six months.

(4) That the provisions of Section 16 of the Press Act should be reproduced in this Act.

We have also considered certain other matters of detail, which are of a technical nature. We think they should be left to the expert department to deal with.

Summary of Conclusions.

14. We append a summary of our conclusions:—

(1) The Press Act should be repealed.

(2) The Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act should be repealed.

(3) The Press and Registration of Books Act, the Sea Customs Act and the Post Office Act should be amended, where necessary, to meet the conclusions.

(a) The name of the Editor should be inscribed on every issue of a newspaper and the Editor should be subject to the same liabilities as the Printer and the Publisher as regards criminal and civil responsibility.

(b) Any person registering under the Press and Registration of Books Act should be a major, as defined by the Indian Majority Act.

(c) Local Governments should retain the power of confiscating openly seditious leaflets, subject to the owner of the press, or any other person aggrieved, being able to protest before a court and challenge the seizure of such document, in which case the local Government ordering confiscation should be called upon to prove the seditious character of the document.

(d) The powers conferred by Sections 13 to 15 of the Press Act should be retained, Customs and Postal officers being empowered to seize seditious literature within the meaning of Section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, subject to review on the part of the local Government and challenge by any persons interested in the proper courts.

(e) Any person challenging the orders of the Government should do so in the local High Court.

(f) The term of imprisonment prescribed in Sections 12, 13, 14 and 15 of the Press and Registration of Books Act should be reduced to six months.

(g) The provisions of Section 16 of the Act should be reproduced in the Press and Registration of Books Act.

APPENDIX III.

Report of the Committee appointed to examine repressive laws.

In accordance with the instructions contained in Resolution No. 533-Political, dated March 21st, 1921, we have examined the following Regulations and Acts :—

(1) The Bengal State Offences Regulation, 1804 ;

(2) Madras Regulation VII of 1898 ;

(3 Bengal State Prisoners Regulation, 1818 ;

(4) Madras Regulation II of 1819 ;

(5) Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 ;

(6) The State Prisoners Act, 1850 ;

(7) The State Offences Act, 1857 ;

(8) The Forfeiture Act, 1857 ;

(9) The State Prisoners Act, 1858 ;

(10) The Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908 ;

(11) The Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, 1911 ;

(12) The Defence of India (Criminal Law Amendment) Act, 1915 ;

(13) The Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, 1919.

2. Appendix A to this report gives the names of the witnesses who were invited to give evidence. We examined at considerable length 24 witnesses, some of whom came from distant provinces at much personal inconvenience. We desire to record our appreciation of their public spirit. We have also considered the opinions of local Governments and some written statements sent by witnesses or by recognised associations. In addition we perused a large amount of documentary evidence in the shape of reports of disturbances, confidential reports on the political situation, speeches delivered at public meetings, debates in the Legislative Council when the Acts under consideration were introduced, and correspondence with local Governments regarding the exercise of powers under these Acts and the proceedings of the previous Committees, including the Sedition Committee,

3. The reports from local Governments shew that recourse was had to these 'repressive' or 'preventive' enactments only in cases of emergency, or to deal with exceptional disorder for which the ordinary law did not provide any adequate remedy. It is also proved that the Government of India have scrutinized with the greatest care all requests for either the introduction of the Seditious Meetings Act or action under the Defence of India Act or the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908. During the war the maintenance of internal peace was a supreme consideration and early preventive action was essential.

The first question then that we have to decide is whether with the conclusion of the war and the introduction of constitutional changes in the Government of

India, there has been such an improvement in the general situation as to justify the repeal of all or any of these measures. We have particularly to consider whether there exists such an anarchical movement as prevailed in Bengal during the last decade, or any probability of a recrudescence of a movement, which at that time seriously disturbed the tranquillity of certain parts of India. On this point a certain amount of plain speaking is unavoidable.

4. The evidence of many witnesses indicates that the constitutional reforms have produced a distinct change for the better in the attitude towards Government of the larger portion of the literate or 'politically minded' classes. As regards the illiterate masses, the position is much less satisfactory. It must be recognised that recent appeals to racial feeling, religious prejudice or economic discontent have in fact shaken respect for law, government and authority, and "created an atmosphere of preparedness for violence." Intimidation, social boycott and the establishment of courts, the jursdiction of which is in some cases enforced by violence and insult, are among the methods employed to create a situation full of dangerous potentialities. Similarly, while many witnesses expressed the view that the general position had improved and that the cult of non-co-operation had generally failed to appeal to more thoughtful persons, we are forced to the conclusion that the leaders of this movement have succeeded in arousing a deep and widespread feeling of hostility towards Government. It is however as yet more marked in urban than in rural areas. The large number of serious riots during the past seven months* cannot be regarded merely as passing ebullitions of temporary discontent. The disturbances in places so widely apart as Rae Bareli, Malegaon, Nagpur, Giridih, Dharwar, Aligarh and Matiari indicate a growing contempt for law and order. We have no doubt that economic and agrarian discontent has been exploited by agitators, and that these riots have in many cases disclosed a disregard of authority or an attempt to intimidate the courts or officers carrying out the orders of the courts, which justifies us in ascribing them to an active and malicious propaganda. In attempting any survey of the present political situation we cannot leave out of account further dangerous developments adumbrated by leaders of the Extreme party. To illustrate this point we cite some extracts from recent speeches.

(1) "Mahatma Gandhi says that if you are determined *Swaraj* can be attained within one year. The machinery of the Government is entirely in your hands· * * * * *. At first we will request the military and the police to throw up their services with the Government. If this request is rejected the public will be asked to refuse to pay taxes and then you will see how the machinery will work. We do not recognise the authorities of the present Government and refusal to pay taxes will settle everything. This can only be achieved by unity. Now it rests with you whether you will sit under the *Satanic* flag or will come under the flag of God. The day will come when the sweepers, washer-men and others will be asked to boycott those who are on the side of *Satan*."

(2) "I beleive that the struggle with Government will commence when we withhold payment of taxes. In that case Government will come to its senses. I require students these days. Some are required for (work among the) tenantry When they will refuse to pay taxes and Government will issue warrants and send its sepoys, the peasants will boldly defy its order and will say "Kill us or put our property to auction, but we would not pay taxes with our hands."

***Vide* Appendix B.

(3) We may also quote an extract from an article in "Young India" by Mr. M. K. Gandhi:—

"Civil Disobedience was on the lips of every one of the members of the All-India Congress Committee. Not having really ever tried it, every one appeared to be enamoured of it from a mistaken belief in it as a sovereign remedy for our present-day ills. I feel sure that it can be made such if we can produce the necessary atmosphere for it. For individuals there always is that atmosphere except when their Civil Disobedience is certain to lead to bloodshed. I discovered this exception during the *Satyagraha* days. But even so a call may come which one dare not neglect, cost it what it may. I can clearly see the time coming to me when I *must* refuse obedience to every single state-made law, *even though there may be a certainty of bloodshed* (our italics). When neglect of the call means a denial of God, Civil Disobedience becomes a peremptory duty."

(4) The following are Resolutions passed by the All-India Congress Committee of Bombay:—

(*i*) "The All-India Congress Committee advises that all persons belonging to the Congress shall discard the use of foreign cloth as from the 1st day of August next and advises all Congress organisations * * * to collect foreign cloth from consumers for destruction or use outside India at their option."

(*ii*) "It is of opinion that Civil Disobedience should be postponed till after the completion of the programme referred to in the Resolution on *Swadeshi* after which the Committee will not hesitate, if necessary, to recommend a course of Civil Disobedience even though it might have to be adopted by a special Session of the Congress. Provided however it is open to any Province or place to adopt Civil Disobedience subject to the previous approval of the Working Committee obtained within the Constitution, through the Provincial Congress Committees concerned."

Witnesses unanimously agreed that Civil Disobedience particularly if it took the form of a "no-revenue" or "no-rent" campaign, would result in widespread disorder, and that a boycott, whether of foreign goods or of liquor, if accompanied by intimidation, might result in violence. The boycott of foreign cloth would also tend to raise prices, and the consequent economic distress would end in "hat looting" such as has occurred in the past.

5. In the light of the evidence before us it is therefore impossible to describe the state of affairs to-day as normal. Nor is India singular in this respect: the reaction from the war is world wide and no country has escaped its effects. There are however grounds for hoping that an improvement has begun: there are signs of a gradual adjustment to *post bellum* conditions: a favourable monsoon would do much to remove economic discontent: the relations between Government officials and the public, between the Ministers and officers serving under them are admittedly undergoing successful readjustment: finally, the response made to the opportunities offered by the Reformed Councils, no less than the attitude of the Executive and the Legislators of mutual co-operation is encouraging. But as militating against this improvement there is an active widespread campaign which, if judged by recent utterances, is certain to increase economic difficulties and to promote disaffection.

6. We have carefully scrutinised the evidence dealing with the *Khilafat* movement. With its religious aspect the Committee is in no way concerned: indeed we fully sympathise with the desire for favourable peace terms for Turkey, but t is our duty to examine closely the activities of the extremist leaders of this movement and the methods by which they seek to attain their aims. We are informed that any real appreciation of the difficulties of the situation is confined to a small class, but it cannot be denied that the terms of the Turkish peace treaty have been used to cause a dangerously bitter feeling amongst the masses, and that religious enthusiasm exploited by unscrupulous agitators has in many places developed into fanatical hostility to the British Government. Thus, despite frequent contradiction, the lie that holy places have been desecrated is still repeated. We cite below extracts from reports of speeches submitted to us.

(1) At Karachi a Hindu 'Ecclesiastical' supporter advised "sympathy with their Moslem brothers because the power that had caught hold of the Muslim holy places would not spare those of the Hindus."

(2) Or again, "The British had caused Hindu and Muhammadan brothers to fight and have thus made straight their own road. They had destroyed Mecca and Medina. Shots had even fallen on the Prophet's remains. All Muhammadans who had fought against the Turks should be divorced."

(3) "Referring to the fight in Mecca he said that the Sheriff was the master of the place. There were only 30 or 35 Turkish soldiers. When the British Army reached Mecca they killed 3 of the Turkish soldiers who were found marketting. Two others, who took shelter in the *Kaaba* (the holy temple) where not a tiger nor even a fly was allowed to be killed according to religion, were slaughtered by the British soldiers. Moreover the holy carpet of the *Kaaba* which was prepared by the hands of the innocent little girls was burnt by the fire of the British shells."

(4) The following extract refers apparently to the Kheri murder case:—

"I am going to pronounce the order of God that if the slayer of a heathen is killed, he will certainly become a martyr. If he dies it is your duty to pray for him.

"One Englishman has died here; lakhs of Hindus and Mussalmans have been martyred there—

"If after lakhs of Mussalmans have been martyred in Smyrna, somebody has killed Christians, Christians have retaliated entering Constantinople. If he has committed the murder for the sake of religion and he is slain he will attain martyrdom. Heavens await him and the *hourries* are standing (to welcome him) with cups in their hands."

7. It was, we were told by a frontier officer, statements of this kind, particularly relating to the defilement of holy places, which has created such bitterness and led to the Hijrat from Upper Sindh and Peshawar with such disastrous consequences. Instances of gross misrepresentation are numerous. Nor does it end here. Perhaps the most sinister feature in this campaign of calumny is the direct attempt to seduce the military and the police force from their allegiance. Evidence has been adduced of many specified instances of such attempts, which the military authorities regard as most dangerous. Speeches have also been reported:—

(1) "Tell every Muhammadan clearly that it is his religious duty to avoid being recruited for the army. Do not give a single soldier that he may behead his brother with his own hands."

(2) "Your religion is calling for help, but you do not lay down your life for God; you join the army or police on fourteen rupees a month. You say you are a Government servant; but you are God's servant."

8. We have also had placed before us reports of many speeches made by various leaders of the movement which can only be considered as direct incitements to disloyalty and violence. The following are instances:—

(1) "If the Amir of Kabul does not enslave India and does not want to subjugate the people of India who have never done any harm and who do not mean to do the slightest harm to the people of Afghanistan or elsewhere, but if he comes to fight against those who have always had an eye on his country, who wanted to subjugate his people, who hold the Holy Places of Islam, who want to crush Islam in their hostile grip, who want to destroy the Muslim faith and were bent on destroying the *Khilafat*, then not only shall we not assist, but it will be our duty and the duty of every one who calls himself a Mussalman to gird up his loins and fight the good fight of Islam."

(2) "When we have to kill all Englishmen we will not come stealthily, we will, that very day, declare openly that there is (war with) the sword between you and us now and it will be sheathed only when either your neck disappears or ours."

(3) "The object of my speaking so plainly is to assure you that in the question of *Khilafat* we have not gone an inch against the doctrines of Islam. In my religion, to die and to kill in the cause of God are both good deeds."

(4) "He told his audience that their time had at last come. Everything was ready for *jehad* and the signal was about to be given. He exhorted them to be bold and steadfast. The weapons of the British soldiers and sepoys could not harm them for he had the power to render them innocuous. This time there was little talk of non-co-operation. The business for the moment was war."

(5) "If you do not come forward, God shall raise another nation for Islam's defence. Those who wage the war of *jehad* will not mind any remonstrances. * * * * *Swaraj* is a religious obligation with me. I am doing my work for the sake of the holy *Kaaba*, Medina and the Qoran. It is better to be slaves of Muhammadans than of the English. It is our duty to help the Amir if he comes to carry on *jehad*. I am prepared to fight the battle of Independence whether my Muhammadan brothers help me or not."

9. These quotations could be multiplied. We notice also repeated statements casting on England, and not on the Allies, the whole responsibility for the terms of the treaty of Sèvres or for any delay in amendment. After a careful perusal of these and other similar utterances, and making every allowance for inaccurate reporting, we have no hesitation in holding that this form of propaganda is directly calculated, when addressed to an impressionable and excitable audience, to lead to violence.

10. We endeavoured to ascertain the effect of this combined movements (the Non-co-operation and the Khilafat) on the student community, and have received valuable evidence from educational authorities. The situation was at one time disquieting. Direct appeals were issued of which we give one example:—

"Those who read the newspapers know the part taken by the students in all countries in these days. The first example was set by the students of Russia at the time of revolution. They took great part therein and you know the result. In China also the students agitated and the courses of the universities were changed according to their wishes. Look at the condition of Egypt and the work done there by the students! They have obtained the religious form of instruction. They have agitated for years and in the long run they have been successful in their revolution. Both boys and girls took share in the revolution. Our only hope of spreading agitation is by means of the students who are always enthusiastic."

Evidence shows that the mischievous results of this appeal to students were short-lived. Our general impression is that the student community at large has not been permanently or seriously affected, save in the way of sentimental sympathy for the non-co-operation movement and the personality of its leader. The 'national' institutions have obtained meagre support whether in the shape of funds or pupils. Several have now been closed. There was at first some response in the form of strikes, but the large majority of students returned. The result of the University Examinations, and the number of entries shew that there has been no appreciable falling-off in the number of admissions or of candidates. It is noticeable that the effects varied in different institutions, which we attribute to the influence or lack of influence of the Principal and Professors. We are however convinced that as in the case of the public generally, so with the students there is less respect for authority than there was before. Nor can we overlook the fact that there is a small residue of misguided boys who, by forsaking their studies, have not only imperilled their future career but would seem to have elected that of the professional agitator. We have dwelt upon this aspect of the situation in view of the unhappy activities of the student community of Bengal ten years ago.

11. Taking into consideration all the evidence we have received, and the points to which we have adverted, and bearing in mind the still prevailing economic discontent, we cannot dismiss as improbable the possibility of sudden labour, agrarian or sectarian disorder on a large scale probably culminating in riots.

12. We may now in the light of this appreciation of the present political position examine the question of repealing or retaining the various Acts under consideration. Dealing with the older Acts first, we notice that they relate generally to an unsettled condition of affairs which no longer exists. We regard it as undesirable that they should be used for any purpose not contemplated by their authors. The objections to them are obvious. Some, as for example, Bengal Regulation 10 of 1804, or the Forfeiture Act of 1857, are inconsistent with modern ideas; others are clothed in somewhat archaic language and are applicable only to circumstances which are unlikely to recur. Many arm the Executive with special powers which are not subject to revision by any judicial tribunal. Their presence on the Statute book is regarded as an offence by enlightened public opinion. The arguments for their retention are as follows. The use of the Bengal State Prisoners' Regulation, 1818 (Regulations III of 1818) in Bengal was necessitated by the revolutionary movement which the ordinary law failed to check. The wholesale intimidation of witnesses rendered recourse to the ordinary courts ineffective. Though we have evidence of a change in the attitude of individual leaders of the anarchical movement in Bengal, we are warned that similar symptoms of intimidation have been noticed, and that, should there be a recrudescence of any revolutionary movement, it would, in the absence of these old preventive Regulations, be impossible to cope with the situation, and fresh emergency legislation would

be necessary. Lastly, the plea is advanced that these old Acts may be regarded as measures intermediate between the ordinary law of the land and martial law, the ultimate result in case of extreme disorder. The abolition of these special laws, it is suggested, may mean earlier recourse to martial law than might otherwise be the case.

13. We recognise the force of these arguments, in particular the difficulty of securing evidence or of preventing the intimidation of witnesses. We also appreciate the fact that the use of the ordinary law may in some cases advertise the very evil which the trial is designed to punish. But we consider that in the modern conditions of India that risk must be run. It is undesirable that any Statutes should remain in force which are regarded with deep and genuine disapproval by a majority of the Members of the Legislatures. The harm created by the retention of arbitrary powers of imprisonment by the Executive may, as history has shewn, be greater even than the evil which such powers are directed to remedy. The retention of these Acts could in any case only be defended if it was proved that they were in present circumstances essential to the maintenance of law and order. As it has not been found necessary to resort in the past to these measures save in cases of grave emergency, we advocate their immediate repeal. In the event of a recurrence of any such emergency we think that the Government must rely on the Legislature to arm them with the weapons necessary to cope with the situation.

14. Our recommendation in regard to Regulation III of 1818 and the analogous Regulations in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies is subject, however, to the following reservations. It has been pointed out to us that, for the protection of the frontiers of India and the fulfilment of the responsibilities of the Government of India in relation to Indian States, there must be some enactment to arm the Executive with powers to restrict the movements and activities of certain persons who, though not coming within the scope of any criminal law, have to be put under some measure of restraint. Cases in point are exiles from Foreign or protected States who are liable to become the instigators or focus of intrigues against such States: persons disturbing the tranquillity of such States who cannot suitably be tried in the Courts of the States concerned and may not be amenable to the jurisdiction of British Courts: and persons tampering with the inflammable material on our frontiers. We are in fact satisfied of the continued necessity for providing for the original object of this Regulation, in so far as it was expressly declared to be "the due maintenance of the alliances formed by the British Government with Foreign Powers, the preservation of tranquillity in the territories of Native Princes entitled to its protection and the security of the British Dominions from foreign hostility," and in so far as the inflammable frontier is concerned from "internal commotion.'

We desire to make it clear that the restrictions which we contemplate in this connection are not of a penal or even irksome character. We are satisfied that they have not been so, in cases of the kind referred to above, in the past. Indeed, in several instances they have been imposed as much in the interests of the persons concerned as in the interests of the State. The only desideratum is to remove such persons from places where they are potential sources of trouble. Within such linits as may be necessary to achieve this object they would ordinarily enjoy full personal liberty and a freedom from any kind of stigma such as would be associated with restrictions imposed by criminal law. We therefore think that the retention of Regulation III of 1818, limited in its application to the objects outlined above, would be unobjectionable.

This reservation may also involve the retention in a modified form of the State Prisoners' Acts of 1850 and 1858, but this is a matter for legal experts. We have

carefully considered the cases in which the Madras State Prisoners' Regulation of 1819 has been used. The procedure adopted was certainly simpler and more effective, but if the ordinary law is insufficient, we think it is for the Local Government to consider whether any amendment of the Mappila Outrages Act XX of 1859 is needed.

15. Turning now to the more modern Acts, we notice that the Defence of India (Criminal Law Amendment) Act, 1915, will in the ordinary course of events shortly expire. It is, we understand, at present only used in order to give effect to the Government of India's policy in the matter of colonial emigration. Section 16-B of the Defence of India (consolidated) Rules, 1915, is at present employed to prevent the departure from India of unskilled labour, which does not come within the definition of 'emigration' given in Act XVII of 1908.

A special regulation may, we think, also be needed for the exclusion of persons whose presence may endanger the peace and safety of the North West Frontier Province. We understand that a Bill to meet the case of Indian Emigrants has already been introduced. We recommend that the Defence of India Act be repealed at once, as it was only intended to cope with difficulties arising from the war.

16. The Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, 1919, has never been used. Its enactment was extremely unpopular ; it was to continue in force only for three years from the termination of the war. We consider that the retention of this Act is not necessary or advisable. The power to restrain personal liberty without trial conferred by this Act is not consistent with the policy inaugurated with the recent constitutional changes, and we therefore recommend its immediate repeal. It is however necessary to strike a note of warning. This Act was passed on the report of a Committee 3 years ago, which recognised the need for special legislation, both preventive and punitive. While we think that there has since 1918 been some improvement in the situation so far as the anarchical movement is concerned, we realize that strong measures may be needed for the suppression of any organised attempt at widespread disorder. We prefer, however, to leave this contingency to be dealt with when and if it arises, rather than retain a statute which is regarded as a stigma on the good name of India.

17. There remain then two Acts, the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, and the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, 1911. It is around those two Acts that controversy has centred and regarding which we have been careful to obtain a full expression of opinion. These Acts also differ from those to which we have already referred in that while the Committee was sitting, they were actually being used in the Punjab, Delhi and the United Provinces. The evidence adduced satisfies us that their effect was beneficial and necessary to the maintenance of public tranquillity. It is affirmed that local officers responsible for the maintenance of peace and order would, under existing conditions if these Acts were repealed, find themselves in an impossible situation faced, it might be, with disorder on a large scale which they could not prevent. The application of these Acts moreover is subject to safeguards which ensure that sanction to their introduction is only granted after careful scrutiny of the necessity for such action. The Local Governments are unanimous in asking for the retention of the Seditious Meetings Act. Most of the Local Governments similarly affirms the need for retaining Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908. It is desirable therefore to examine most carefully the reasons for and against their repeal.

18. These Acts are first attacked as being "unconstitutional," and, like the Act of 1919, inconsistent with the present policy of Government. In support of this view our attention has been directed to the law that obtains in England with

regard to public meetings. The following dictum of Professor Dicey is quoted: "The Government has little or no power of preventing meetings which to all appearance are lawful even though they may in fact turn out when actually convened to be unlawful because of the mode in which they are conducted." We would point out that the learned Professor is merely stating what are actually the principles underlying the law in England. He does not attempt to discuss their propriety, nor, we may add, their applicability to another country where entirely different conditions may prevail. He does however allude to "the policy or the impolicy of denying to the highest authority in the State the very widest power to take in their discretion precautionary measures against the evils which may flow from the injudicious exercise of legal right." The learned author also points out that the right of public meeting is "certainly a *singular*" (not "similar" as given in the written statement of one of the witnesses before us) "instance of the way in which adherence to the principle that the proper function of the State is the punishment, not the prevention, of crimes, deprives the Executive of discretionary authority." We are unable to accept as complete the analogy to be drawn from English practice. Apart from the great difference in the class of audience which may be addressed, we recognise that while democracy and all the rights that it entails have been the result of gradual growth through the course of centuries in Great Britain, it is a recent introduction into India. We know that some public speakers do not exercise that self restraint which has become customary in England and which is certainly no less desirable in India.

19. The next argument advanced for the repeal of these Acts is that they offend public sentiment and that their retention would be a direct incitement to further agitation. This argument is one to which we attach great weight, even though we recognise that the repeal of these Acts would only appeal to a few. The masses would remain unaffected and would probably be unaware that they had been repealed. We realise that the wholesale repeal of these Acts would do much to strengthen those who are anxious to assist Government and would be useful for the purposes of counter propaganda. We realise also that substantial support is necessary for Government to meet the strong extremist movement, which is the greatest obstacle to the successful development of the reforms recently introduced and to all political and industrial progress.

20. The real point, however, at issue is whether the ordinary law that would remain would provide sufficient means for coping with any existing or reasonably apprehended disorder. Evidence has been adduced to show that in certain places the ordinary law is inadequate and this evidence we are not prepared to reject.

This brings us to the third objection that the ordinary law alone should be applied to prevent the evil with which these two Acts are designed to cope. We have had long discussions as to the manner in which section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code has been recently applied. It is no part of our duty to express an opinion on any individual case in which this Section has been used or to enter into any legal argument. In the opinion of those best qualified to judge this Section cannot be used effectively when danger of unrest is widespread. We also note the popular view that Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code was not designed to prevent meetings over a large area, and that its use for such a purpose arouses probably as much resentment as the application of the seditious Meetings Act. It is the only preventive section in the ordinary law. Section 108A of the Criminal Procedure Code is only partially preventive. Sections 120A and B, 124A, and 153A of the Indian Penal Code are punitive. Further, even if satisfactory evidence is available these sections can be used only against individuals and not to prevent seditious meetings or speeches. We consider it probable that if in those areas to which the Seditious Meetings Act has recently been applied, no

preventive action other than that possible under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code had been taken, the danger of disorder would have been appreciably increased, and the number of prosecutions under these punitive sections would have been larger, which might have had the effect of exasperating public opinion. We would point out that in some cases referred to in Appendix B, the riot was directly connected with such a prosecution.

21. A fourth argument is based on the recent findings of the Committee appointed to examine the Press Act. It is unnecessary for our purpose to discuss whether the written or the spoken word commands the greater circulation. We agree with that Committee that "the more direct and violent forms of sedition are now disseminated more from the platform and through the agency of itinerary propagandists than by the press." The prosecution of a paper is moreover much simpler than the prosecution of a speaker, attended as the latter is by the difficulties of obtaining an accurate report of the speech delivered. We think that the instances we have given above are sufficient illustration of the danger of allowing violent and inflammable speeches. Though the speaker can be prosecuted the mischief may have been done. Of this there have been lamentable illustrations.

22. Fifthly, it is argued that the Seditious Meetings Act of 1911 not only stifles noxious speeches at public meetings but also deters people who might assist in counter-propaganda. Cases have been quoted of persons otherwise well disposed to Government who declined "to ask for leave to hold a meeting or make a speech." We recognise that this is a necessary and undesirable result of the application of the Seditious Meetings Act. It is, however, a lesser evil than allowing speeches to be made which result in such disorder as would equally prevent any exponent of moderate views from obtaining a hearing. Such intimidation is, we learn, very general.

23. In this connection, since we regard it as important that every opportunity should be given to the electorate of hearing both sides of a question, we recommend, before the next general election, the introduction of a Bill on the lines of the Disorderly Public Meetings Act, 8, Edward VII, which makes a disturbance at a public meeting an offence, and provides a heavier penalty when this offence is committed during a Parliamentary election. We would also suggest that should such a Bill be presented, it should include a clause making it incumbent on the promoters of any meeting to provide adequate facilities and security for such reporters as the District Magistrate may wish to depute. We recommend for the consideration of the Government of India the suggestion that the District Magistrate should, with the consent of the Local Government, be empowered to demand in any area of his district, notified in this behalf, that notice be given to him of the intention to hold a public meeting, so that he may be able to make proper arrangements for obtaining a report of the proceedings. This, we may observe, is entirely different from demanding that a person should obtain leave to hold a meeting.

24. Finally, it is pointed out that, in the last resort, should the ordinary law prove insufficient, recourse can be had to legislation by Ordinance. We would deprecate any idea that this method of legislation should be regarded as part of the ordinary procedure of the Legislature. It should, we think, be reserved for exceptional circumstances or sudden emergencies. To regard it as in any way the normal method of legislation implies a distrust of the Legislative Assembly and Council of State to which we would be sorry to subscribe. In fact, the most potent argument advanced in favour of the repeal of these two Acts is that such repeal would be an illuminating object lesson in the value of constitutional reforms. "Trust your Legislatures," we are told, "confidence will beget confidence. If you need exceptional powers, prove your

necessity and the Legislatures will grant them." We have accepted this principle to the utmost limit consistent with safety in advising the repeal of the enactments to which reference has already been made. These can clearly be differentiated from the measures now under discussion, in that the latter are of a less drastic character. To quote from the speech of the late Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale on the Seditious Meetings Bill: "I will freely admit that from the standpoint of Government it could not have introduced a milder measure than this. The more objectionable features of the Act of 1907 have been removed, and if, when the need arises, the law is applied with reasonable care and caution, it is not likely to produce any serious hardship." Though seldom applied, these two enactments were actually found necessary for the preservation of law and order during the sittings of the Committee. An obvious objection to a more complete acceptance of this principle in regard to the enactments under objection is that in allowing proof of the necessity for legislation to accumulate, even stronger measures than those now under consideration might eventually be required for the suppression of disorder. There might quite conceivably be difference of opinion as to the amount of proof required to justify such legislation, and any action by Government in the way of Ordinance in advance of public opinion might provoke a grave constitutional crisis. By the time public opinion had become sufficiently alarmed to demand legislative action the damage might be complete, and in some cases beyond repair.

25. As regards the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, it has been suggested that sections of the Indian Penal Code are sufficient to cope with any situation that is now likely to arise. It is generally accepted that Part I of this Act has failed to achieve in Bengal the purpose for which it was designed. As regards Part II, the conspiracy sections of the Indian Penal Code might meet the case if, but only if, evidence were forthcoming. It was in no small measure the impossibility of obtaining evidence owing to the intimidation of witnesses that led to this enactment. As we have already seen, there is definite evidence of certain organisations encouraging acts of violence or resorting to intimidation. Recently in Delhi it has been necessary to declare certain Associations of Volunteers unlawful under Section 16 of this Act. We have carefully examined the circumstances which led to this action. The Volunteer movement as did the Samities in Bengal, began with "social service," but the adherents soon developed a definite tendency to interfere with the duties of the Police and the liberty of the public. They then began to intimidate and terrorise the general body of the population. There was a tendency towards hooliganism. It has been proved that some of these Associations resorted to violence, that their behaviour at Railway Stations and public meetings was objectionable and rowdy, that they obstructed the funeral of an honoured citizen and held a most undesirable demonstration at the house of another. They actively interfered with the elections by threats and picketing. There was every reason to believe that their activities, if left unchecked, would lead to serious disorder. The conclusion we have arrived at is that some of these Volunteer Associations in Delhi were seditious organisations, formed for the purpose of intimidating loyal citizens, and interfering illegally with the administration of the province. The result of the action taken by Government has been, we were told, to "destroy the worst features of volunteer activity in so far as it was synonymous with rowdyism in the city of Delhi." Evidence has also been given of a possible recrudescence of secret associations in another part of India. It has also been stated in evidence that Bolshevik emissaries have entered India, and we cannot overlook the possibility of illegal associations promoted by them terrorising the population, as was the case in Bengal in 1909, or in Poona in 1910, and engaging in a campaign of crime and terrorism. Actually Part II of this Act has been sparingly used. Its object

is not only to break down existing unlawful associations, but to deter young and comparatively guiltless persons from joining these bodies and to discourage the supply of pecuniary assistance. We regret that we cannot at this juncture recommend the immediate repeal of Part II of this Act. There are too evident indications that its application might be necessary to prevent the formation of secret societies. Nor can we for the reasons already given advise the immediate repeal of the Seditious Meetings Act of 1911. We were informed, and see no reason to disbelieve it, that the result of the application of the Act in each case has been that sober-minded people approved the action taken by Government, and that the application of the Act was of the greatest value in preserving public tranquillity.

26. Our recommendation follows that made by the Bihar and Orissa Government: "Subject, however, to the reservations temporarily made in favour of the Seditious Meetings Act and Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which cannot be abandoned until the present tension created by the non-co-operation movement has been relieved by the action of its leading promoters, His Excellency in Council desires again to emphasise the importance of removing from the Statute Book as far as possible all special laws of this character, so that the Government of India under the reformed constitution may proceed with a clean slate. At the same time, however, His Excellency in Council is conscious that in the future the need for the special powers may again arise."

In view of the grave situation which exists and which may become more serious, we also think that it would be more prudent to defer actual repeal of these Acts until such time as the situation improves. We sincerely hope that it may be possible for the Government to undertake the necessary legislation during the Delhi session. But it is impossible for us to make any definite recommendation on this point at present. We hope that the repeal of these Acts may be expedited by a healthy change in the character of the agitation going on at present. The duration of retention rests in other hands than ours.

27. To this endeavour to adjust the conflicting claims of political considerations and administrative necessity we have applied the principles on which the Constitutional Reforms are based. The problem before us is, we consider, a test case of the "co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility." We recognise our responsibility, which a year ago we did not share in the maintenance of peace and order. We are prepared to trust both the Provincial Councils and the Imperial Legislature for such support as may be necessary. We are confident that the Executive will use any exceptional powers with the utmost caution and restraint. Their action may always be challenged in the local legislatures. Lastly, we desire also to take into account the difficulties which at the present time confront local officers. Evidence before us shows* that the Magistrates and the Police have on many occasions been sorely tried, and we wish to record our appreciation of their loyalty in very difficult positions. We look forward to the day when the District Magistrate himself seeking the help and advice of such persons as may be in a position to influence public opinion will find not merely critics but defenders in the Legislature, and when the discharge of his duties will not be regarded with suspicion, or made the subject of further enquiry. Animated by these ideas, we recommend the repeal of all the Statutes included in the terms of reference to this Committee, with a reservation as to Bengal Regulation III of 1818 and the corresponding Regulations of the

* Appendix C.

Madras and Bombay Presidencies, but we advise that the repeal of the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, 1911, and Part II of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, should be deferred for the present. Their retention is necessary in view of recent declarations which we cannot but regard with the gravest apprehension.

APPENDIX IV.

Resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress, Ahmedabad.

1. Whereas since the holding of the last Indian National Congress the people of India have found from actual experience that by reason of the adoption of non-violent Non-co-operation, the country has made a great advance in fearlessness self-sacrifice and self-respect and whereas the movement has greatly damaged the prestige of the Government and whereas on the whole the country is rapidly progressing towards Swarajya, this Congress confirms the resolution adopted at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta and reaffirmed at Nagpur and places on record the fixed determination of the Congress to continue the programme of non-violent Non-co-operation with greater vigour than hitherto in such a manner as each province may determine, till the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs are redressed and Swarajya is established and the control of the Government of India has passed into the hands of the people from an irresponsible corporation and whereas the reason of the threat uttered by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent speeches and the consequent repression started by the Government of India in the various provinces by way of disbandment of volunteer corps and forcible prohibition of public and even committee meetings in an illegal and high-handed manner and by the arrest of many Congress workers in several provinces and whereas this repression is manifestly intended to stifle all Congress and Khilafat activities and deprive the public of their assistance, this Congress resolves that the activities of the Congress be suspended as far as necessary and appeals to all quietly and without any demonstration to offer themselves for arrest by belonging to the volunteer organisations to be formed throughout the country in terms of the resolution of the Working Committee arrived at in Bombay on the 23rd day of November last, provided that no one shall be accepted as a volunteer who does not sign the following pledge :—

With God as witness, I solemnly declare that (1) I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps, (2) so long as I remain a member of the corps I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent, since I believe that as India is circumstanced non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swarajya and the consolidation of unity among all the races and the communities of India, whether Hindu, Musalman, Parsi, Christian or Jew, (3) I believe in and shall endeavour always to promote such unity, (4) I believe in "Swadeshi" as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation and shall use hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth, (5) as a Hindu I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall, on all possible occasions, seek personal contact with and endeavour to render service to the submerged classes, (6) I shall carry out the instructions of my superior officers and all the regulations not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge prescribed by the volunteer boards of the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress, (7) I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault or

even death for the sake of my religion and my country without resentment and (8) in the event of my imprisonment I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependents."

This Congress trusts that every person of the age of 18 and over will immediately join the volunteer organisations notwithstanding the proclamation prohibiting public meetings and inasmuch as even committee meetings have been attempted to be construed as public meetings. This Congress advises the holding of committee meetings and public meetings, the latter in enclosed places and by tickets and by previous announcements at which as far as possible only speakers peviously announced shall deliver written speeches, care being taken in every case to avoid risk of provocation and possible violence by the public. In consequence of this the Congress is further of opinion that Civil Disobedience is the only civilised and effective substitute for an armed rebellion whenever every other remedy for preventing arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority by individuals or corporation has been tried and therefore advises all Congress workers and others who believe in peaceful methods and are convinced that there is no remedy save some kind of sacrifice to dislodge the existing Government from its position of perfect irresponsibility to the people of India to organise individual civil disobedience and mass civil disobedience, when the mass of the people have been sufficiently trained in the methods of non-violence and otherwise in terms of the resolution therein of the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Delhi.

This Congress is of opinion that in order to concentrate attention upon Civil Disobedience, whether mass or individual (whether of an offensive or defensive character), under proper safeguards and under instructions to be issued from time to time by the Working Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, all other Congress activities should be suspended whenever and wherever and to the extent to which it may be found necessary.

This Congress calls upon all students of the age of 18 and over, particularly those studying in the National institutions and the staff thereof inmediately to sign the foregoing pledge and become members of the National Volunteer Corps.

In view of the impending arrest of a large number of Congress workers this Congress whilst requiring the ordinary machinery to remain in tact and to be utilised in the ordinary manner whenever feasible, hereby appoints until further instructions Mahatma Gandhi as the sole executive authority of the Congress and invests him with the full powers of the All-India Congress Committee including the power to convene a Special Session of the Congress or of the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee and also with the power to appoint a successor in emergency.

This Congress hereby confers upon the said successor and all subsequent successors appointed in turn by their predecessors all the aforesaid powers provided that nothing in this resolution shall be deemed to authorise Mahatma Gandhi or any of the aforesaid successors to conclude any terms of peace with the Government of India or the British Government without the previous sanction of the All-India Congress Committee to be finally ratified by the Congress specially convened for the purpose and provided also that the present creed of the Congress shall in no case be altered by Mahatma Gandhi or his successors, except with the leave of the Congress first obtained.

This Congress congratulates all those patriots who are now undergoing imprisonment for the sake of their conscience or country and realises that their sacrifice has considerably hastened the advent of Swarajya."

2. This Congress appeals to all those who do not believe in full Non-co-operation or in the principle of Non-co-operation, but who consider it essential for the sake of National self-respect to demand and to insist upon the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, and for the sake of full National self-expression, to insist upon the immediate establishment of Swarajya, to render full assistance to the Nation in the promotion of unity between different religious communities, to popularise carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving from its economical aspect and as a cottage industry necessary in order to supplement the resources of millions of agriculturists who are living on the brink of starvation, and to that end preach and practise the use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments to help the cause of total prohibition and if Hindus, to bring about removal and untouchability and to help the improvement of the condition of the submerged classes.

3. This Congress expresses its firm conviction that the Moplah disturbance was not due to the Non-co-operation or the Khilafat movement, especially as the non-co-operators and the Khilafat preachers were denied access to the affected parts by the District authorities for six months before the disturbance, but is due to causes wholly unconnected with the two movements, and that the outbreak would not have occurred had the message of non-violence been allowed to reach them. Nevertheless this Congress deplores the acts done by certain Moplahs by way of forcible conversions and destruction of life and property and is of opinion that the prolongation of the disturbance in Malabar could have been prevented by the Government of Madras accepting the pro ered assistance of Maulana Yakub Hassan and other non-co-operators and allowing Mahatma Gandhi to proceed to Malabar and is further of opinion that the treatment of Moplah prisoners as evidenced by the asphyxiation incident was an act of inhumanity unheard of in modern times and unworthy of a Government that calls itself civilised.

4. This Congress congratulates Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Turks upon their successes and assures the Turkish nation of India's sympathy and support in its struggle to retain its status and independence.

5. This Congress deplores the occurrence that took place in Bombay on the 17th November last and after and assures all parties and communities that it has been and is the desire and determinaton of the Congress to guard their rights to the fullest extent.

6. That this Congress heartily congratulates Shreeman Babu Guruditsinghji—the great organiser of Shri Guru Nanak Steamer who willingly surrendered himself after seven years' fruitless search by the Government as a sacrifice for the Nation and also congratulates the other Sikh leaders who have preferred imprisonment to the restriction of their religious rights and liberty and congratulates the Sikh community on their non-violent spirit at the time of the Babaji's arrest and on other occasions in spite of great provocation by the police and the military.

APPENDIX V.

Resolutions passed by the Khilafat

(1) A resolution of allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey

(2) Maulvi Abdul Majid Badayuni moved the resolut
in spite of all the efforts which could be humanly possible
had denied justice over the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs
hand, started full-fledged repression by imprisoning the
unlawful the peaceful associations in order to stifle
agitation: the Conference therefore called upon all the Mu
age of 18 to join the volunteers' corps regardless of
The Conference also desired that civil disobedience by
meetings where they were prohibited, be entered upo
Congress Committees were satisfied that there was no fe

(3) A resolution congratulating the Kemalists on thei

(4) At this stage the President announced that in t
the afternoon, Mr. Azad Sobhani, supported by Maulana H
the majority of the committee in favour of his resolu
independence. The President further stated that, in v
ance of the motion and its contentious character, they w
evening.

The Resolution states :—

Whereas through the persistent policy and the attitude
it cannot be expected that British Imperialism wo
Arab and the Islamic world to be completely free
control of non-Moslems which means that the Kh
the extent that the Shariat demands, therefore in
manent safety of the Khilafat and the prosperi
to endeavour to destroy the British Imperialism.
view that the only way to make this effort is for
with other inhabitants of India, to make Indi
Conference is of opinion that Moslem opinion abo
complete independence, and it expects that the
would also hold the same point of view.

A split occurred among the Khilafatists over the reso
at the resumed sitting of the Khilafat Conference. Whe
was going to move his resolution declaring as their goal,

hile he had allowed it in the open conference. He
ian œuvred to rule his motion out of order in order to
ng from that conference that Swaraj meant complete

nce passed a resolution appealing for the Angora fund,
rocities in Malabar, sympathising with Moplahs in
ating them on their sacrifices in the cause of religion
lahs who were responsible for the forcible conversion
was then adjourned *sine die.* After this Maulana
the delegates to stay and pass his resolution. About
remained inside the Pandal, and on being asked
nplete independence.

APPENDIX VI.

Resolutions passed by the All-India Liberal Federation at Allahabad.

(1) This Federation desires to place on record its sense of the great loss sustained by the country in the death of Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, C.I.E., and to convey its sincere condolence to the members of his family.

(2) This Federation desires to place on record its sense of the great loss sustained by the country in the death of Sir Rashbehari Ghosh, C.S.I., and to convey its sincere condolence to the members of his family.

(3) This Federation accords its most loyal and respectful welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on his visit to India.

(4) This Federation urges the Government to give effect immediately to the resolution of the Indian Legislative Assembly, in regard to the Indianization of the commissioned ranks in the Indian Army, by starting with an initial recruitment of Indians to 25% of the annual vacancies and raising such recruitment by an annual increment of not less than 5%.

(5) (*i*) This Federation is strongly of opinion that the campaign of civil disobedience, resolved upon by the Congress, is fraught with the gravest danger to the real interests of the country and is bound to cause untold suffering and misery to the people.

(*ii*) This Federation earnestly appeals to the county not to follow a course which imperils peace, order and personal liberty and is bound to produce a mentality inimical not merely to the present Government, but to any form of Government and, so far from achieving Swaraj, which Indians of all political schools desire, is bound to lead to a deplorable set-back in the progress of the country.

(6) In view of the experience obtained of the working of the Reforms Act, the rapid growth of national consciousness and the strong growing demand among all sections of the people for a fuller control over their destinies, this Federation strongly urges that :—

(1) Full autonomy should be introduced in the Provincial Governments at the end of the first term of the various Legislatures, and

(2) As regards Central Government, all subjects, except the defence, foreign affairs, relations with Indian States and ecclesiastical affairs, should be transferred to popular control in the Central Government, at the end of the first term of the Legislative Assembly, subject to such safeguards as may be suitable and necessary for the protection of all vested interests.

(7) (*i*) This Federation fully realises the difficulties of the Government in dealing with the present critical situation, the inevitable dangers to the country of a campaign of civil disobedience, and the necessity for the protection of peaceful and law-abiding citizens against any interference with their liberties, and it recognizes

the duty of every patriotic citizen to support the Government in all measures necessary for the maintenance of peace and order. But it views with great concern the inauguration of a policy of indiscriminate arrests and extensive application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and is strongly of opinion that such a policy defeats its own object by alienating popular sympathy and aggravating general unrest. It also draws pointed attention to the fact that some local Governments and local authorities have acted with an excess of zeal and want of discretion in the matter of arrests and with harshness and severity in regard to sentences of which the Federation strongly disapproves and the Federation therefore strongly urges on the Government an immediate reconsideration of its policy in order to ease the present situation.

(*ii*) This Federation urges the Government to carry out the recommendations of the Repressive Laws Committee and to withdraw the notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Act as early as possible, making such amendments of the ordinary law relating to intimidation as may be suitable and necessary for the effective protection of law-abiding citizens.

(8) This Federation expresses its entire approval of the recommendations of the chairman and four other members of the Railway Committee that the undertakings of the guaranteed Railway Companies as when the contracts fall in, should be entrusted to the direct management of the State and trusts that this policy will be accepted by the Government.

(9) That this Federation condemns the Moplah rebellion and expresses its profound abhorrence of the atrocities committed by the Moplahs in the course of the rebellion and feels it is its duty to support the measures taken by the Government to suppress the rebellion and to protect the lives and the properties of the peaceful citizens in the area affected. It further appeals to the people to show their political sympathies to the sufferers by liberally subscribing to the Malabar Relief Fund. This Federation expresses its horror at the train tragedy at Podanur and trusts that those responsible for it will be early brought to book.

(10) This Federation expresses its dissatisfaction at the inadequacy of the action taken by His Excellency the Viceroy as a result of reviewing the cases of martial law prisoners in the Punjab and reiterates its opinion that full satisfaction cannot be afforded until the officers guilty of acts of cruelty, oppression and humiliation during the period of martial law administration are suitably punished.

(11) The National Liberal Federation of India regrets that the Prime Minister's pledge to the Mussalmans of India made in Januray 1918 has not been redeemed and strongly urges His Majesty's Government suitably to revise the treaty with Turkey.

(12) This Federation congratulates the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri on his able and bold advocacy in urging the claims of India's equality of status in the Empire at the Imperial Conference and places on record its warm appreciation of the great service rendered by him in obtaining recognition of the same.

(13) (*i*) This Federation while welcoming the resolution passed by the Imperial Conference regarding the status of Indians in the Empire as marking a distinct advance on the existing state of things urges the British Government to induce the Union of South Africa where the position of Indians is steadily deteriorating to give effect to it.

(*ii*) The Federation trusts that the position of Indians in East Africa will be determined in accordance with the policy approved by the Imperial Conference.

(14) That this Conference notes with pleasure that Madras and Bombay hav[e] given the vote to duly qualified women and calls on the other provinces to remov[e] the disqualification of sex in the franchise, as soon as possible.

(15) This Federation requests the various Liberal Leagues and other organ-isations with allied objects to take early and effective steps for combating th[e] non-co-operation movement by a systematic propaganda by lectures and leaflet[s] and in such other ways as may be found practicable.

(16) Resolved that Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., and Mr. G. A. Natesan be the General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation of India during year 1922.

APPENDIX VII.

The Afghan Treaty.

PERAMBLE.

The British Government and the Government of Afghanistan with a view to the establishment of neighbourly relations between them have agreed to the Articles written hereunder whereto the undersigned duly authorised to that effect have set their seals :—

Article I.

The British Government and the Government of Afghanistan mutually certify and respect each with regard to the other all rights of internal and external independence.

Article II.

The two High Contracting Parties mutually accept the Indo-Afghan Frontier as accepted by the Afghan Government under Article V of the treaty concluded at Rawalpindi on the 8th August 1919, corresponding to the 11th Ziqada, 1337 Hijra, and also the boundary west of the Khyber laid down by the British Commission in the months of August and September 1919, pursuant to the said Article, and shown on the map attached to this treaty by a black chain line; subject only to the realignment set forth in Schedule I annexed which has been agreed upon in order to include within the boundaries of Afghanistan the place known as Tor Kham, and the whole bed of the Kabul river between Sailman Khwala Banda and Palosai and which is shown on the said map by a red chain line. The British Government agrees that the Afghan authorities shall be permitted to draw water in reasonable quantities through a pipe which shall be provided by the British Government from Landi Khana for the use of Afghan subjects at Tor Kham, and the Government of Afghanistan agrees that British officers and tribesmen living on the British side of the boundary shall be permitted without let or hindrance to use the aforesaid portion of the Kabul river for purposes of navigation and that all existing rights of irrigation from the aforesaid portion of the river shall be continued to British subjects.

Article III.

The British Government agrees that a Minister from His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan shall be received at the Royal Court of London like the Envoys of all other Powers and to permit the establishment of an Afghan Legation in London, and the Government of Afghanistan likewise agrees to receive in Kabul a Minister from His Britannic Majesty the Emperor of India and to permit the establishment of a British Legation at Kabul.

Each party shall have the right of appointing a Military Attaché to its Legation.

Article IV.

The Government of Afghanistan agrees to the establishment of Br
Consulates at Kandahar and Jalalabad, and the British Government agre
the establishment of an Afghan Consul-General at the headquarters o
Government of India and three Afghan Consulates at Calcutta, Karachi
Bombay. In the event of the Afghan Government desiring at any tim
appoint Consular officers in any British territories other than India, a sep
agreement shall be drawn up to provide for such appointments, if they
approved by the British Government.

Article V.

The two High Contracting Parties mutually guarantee the personal s
and honourable treatment each of the representatives of the other, wh
Minister, Consul-General or Consuls, within their own boundaries, and
agree that the said representatives shall be subject in the discharge of
duties to the provisions set forth in the second Schedule annexed to this tr
The British Government further agrees that the Minister, Consul-Genera
Consuls of Afghanistan shall, within the territorial limits within which
are permitted to reside or to exercise their functions, notwithstanding
provisions of the said Schedule, receive and enjoy any rights or privi
which are or may hereafter be granted to or enjoyed by the Minister, Co
General or Consuls of any other Government in the countries in which
places of residence of the said Minister, Consul-General and Consuls of Af
istan are fixed; and the Government of Afghanistan likewise agrees tha
Minister and Consuls of Great Britain shall, within the territorial limits w
which they are permitted to reside or to exercise their functions, not
standing the provisions of the said Schedule, receive and enjoy any righ
privileges which are or may hereafter be granted to or enjoyed by the Mi
or Consuls of any other Government in the countries in which the pla
residence of the said Minister and Consuls of Great Britain are fixed.

Article VI.

As it is for the benefit of the British Government and the Governm
Afghanistan that the Government of Afghanistan shall be strong and
perous, the British Government agrees that whatever quantity of ma
is required for the strength and welfare of Afghanistan, such as all kin
factory machinery, engines and materials and instruments for tele
telephones, etc., which Afghanistan may be able to buy from Britain
British dominions or from other countries of the world, shall ordinar
imported without let or hindrance by Afghanistan into its own terr
from the ports of the British Isles and British India. Similarly the G
ment of Afghanistan agrees that every kind of goods, the export of
is not against the internal law of the Government of Afghanistan and
may in the judgment of the Government of Afghanistan be in excess
internal needs and requirements of Afghanistan and is required by the
Government, can be purchased and exported to India with the perm
of the Government of Afghanistan. With regard to arms and munitio
British Government agrees that as long as it is assured that the inte
of the Government of Afghanistan are friendly and that there is no imm
danger to India from such importation into Afghanistan, permission s
given without let or hindrance for such importation. If, however, the
Traffic Convention is hereafter ratified by the Great Powers of the wo
comes into force, the right of importation of arms and munitions

Afghan Government shall be subject to the proviso that the Afghan Government shall first have signed the Arms Traffic Convention and that such importation shall only be made in accordance with the provisions of that Convention. Should the Arms Traffic Convention not be ratified or lapse, the Government of Afghanistan, subject to the foregoing assurance, can from time to time import into its own territory the arms and munitions mentioned above through the ports of the British Isles and British India.

Article VII

No Customs duties shall be levied at British Indian ports on goods imported under the provisions of Article VI on behalf of the Government of Afghanistan, for immediate transport to Afghanistan, provided that a certificate signed by such Afghan authority or representative as may from time to time be determined by the two Governments shall be presented at the time of importation to the Chief Customs Officer at the port of import setting forth that the goods in question are the property of the Government of Afghanistan and are being sent under its orders to Afghanistan and showing the description, number and value of the goods in respect of which exemption is claimed; provided, secondly, that the goods are required for the public services of Afghanistan and not for the purposes of any State monopoly or State trade; and provided, thirdly, that the goods are, unless of a clearly distinguishable nature, transported through India in sealed packages, which shall not be opened or sub-divided before their export from India.

And also the British Government agrees to the grant in respect of all trade goods imported into India at British ports for re-export to Afghanistan and exported to Afghanistan by routes to be agreed upon between the two Governments, of a rebate at the time and place of export of the full amount of Customs duty levied upon such goods, provided that such goods shall be transported through India in sealed packages which shall not be opened or sub-divided before their export from India.

And also the British Government declares that it has no present intention of levying Customs duty on goods or livestock of Afghan origin or manufacture, imported by land or by river into India or exported from Afghanistan to other countries of the world through India and the import of which into India is not prohibited by law. In the event, however, of the British Government deciding in the future to levy Customs duties on goods and livestock imported into India by land or by river from neighbouring States it will, if necessary, levy such duties on imports from Afghanistan; but in that event it agrees that it will not levy higher duties on imports from Afghanistan than those levied on imports from such neighbouring States. Nothing in this Article shall prevent the levy on imports from Afghanistan of the present Khyber tolls and of octroi in any town of India in which octroi is or may be hereafter levied, provided that there shall be no enhancement over the present rate of the Khyber tolls.

Article VIII

The British Government agrees to the establishment of trade agents by the Afghan Government at Peshawar, Quetta and Parachinar, provided that the personnel and the property of the said agencies shall be subject to the operation of all British laws and orders and to the jurisdiction of British Courts; and that they shall not be recognised by the British authorities as having any official or special privileged position.

Article IX.

The trade goods coming to (imported to) Afghanistan under the provisions of Article VII from Europe, etc., can be opened at the railway terminuses at Jamrud, in the Parram and at Chaman for packing and arranging to suit the capacity of baggage animals without this being the cause of re-imposition of Customs duties; and the carrying out of this will be arranged by the trade representatives mentioned in Article XII.

Article X.

The two High Contracting Parties agree to afford facilities of every description for the exchange of postal matter between their two countries provided that neither shall be authorised to establish Post Offices within the territory of the other. In order to give effect to this Article, a separate Postal Convention shall be concluded, for the preparation of which such number of special officers as the Afghan Government may appoint shall meet the officers of the British Government and consult with them.

Article XI.

The two High Contracting Parties having mutually satisfied themselves each regarding the goodwill of the other, and especially regarding their benevolent intentions towards the tribes residing close to their respective boundaries, hereby undertake each to inform the other in future of any military operations of major importance which may appear necessary for the maintenance of order among the frontier tribes residing within their respective spheres, before the commencement of such operations.

Article XII.

The two High Contracting Parties agree that representatives of the Government of Afghanistan and of the British Government shall be appointed to discuss the conclusion of a Trade Convention and the convention shall in the first place be regarding the measures (necessary) for carrying out the purposes mentioned in Article IX of this treaty. Secondly, (they) shall arrange regarding commercial matters not now mentioned in this treaty which may appear desirable for the benefit of the two Governments. The trade relations between the two Governments shall continue until the Trade Convention mentioned above comes into force.

Article XIII.

The two High Contracting Parties agree that the first and second schedules attached to this treaty shall have the same binding force as the Articles contained in this treaty.

Article XIV.

The provisions of this treaty shall come into force from the date of its signature, and shall remain in force for three years from that date. In case neither of the High Contracting Parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said three years the intention to terminate it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the High Contracting Parties shall have denounced it. Th

treaty shall come into force after the signatures of the Missions of the two Parties and the two ratified copies of this shall be exchanged at Kabul within 2½ months after the signatures.

(Sd.) MAHMUD TARZI,

Chief of the Delegation of the Afghan Government for the conclusion of the Treaty.

Tuesday, 30th Aqrab 1300 Hijra Shamsi (corresponding to 22nd November 1921).

(Sd.) HENRY R. C. DOBBS.

Envoy Extraordinary and Chief of the British Mission to Kabul.

This twenty-second day of November one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one.

Schedule I.

(Referred to in Article II.)

In the nalla-bed running from Landi Khana to Painda Khak Post, the Afghan frontier has been advanced approximately 700 yards, and the Tor Kham ridge, including Shamsa Kandao and Shamsa Kandao Sar, is comprised in Afghan territory. Further, the Afghan frontier has been advanced between the point where the present boundary joins the Kabul river and Palosai from the centre of the river to the right bank.

Schedule II.

Legations and Consulates.

(a) The Legations, Consulate-General and Consulates of the two High Contracting Parties shall at no time be used as places of refuge for political or ordinary offenders or as places of assembly for the furtherance of seditious or criminal movements or as magazines of arms.

(b) The Minister of His Britannic Majesty at the Court of Kabul shall, together with his family, Secretaries, Assistants, Attachés and any of his menial or domestic servants or his couriers who are British subjects, be exempt from the civil jurisdiction of the Afghan Government, provided that he shall furnish from time to time to the Afghan Government a list of persons in respect of whom such exemption is claimed, and, under a like proviso, the Minister of the Amir to the Royal Court of London to which all the Ambassadors of States are accredited shall, together with his family, Secretaries, Assistants, Attachés and any of his menial or domestic servants or his couriers who are Afghan subjects, be exempt from the civil jurisdiction of Great Britain. If an offence or crime is committed by an Afghan subject against the British Minister or the persons above-mentioned who are attached to the British Legation, the case shall be tried according to the local law by the Courts of Afghanistan within whose jurisdiction the offence is committed, and the same procedure shall be observed *vice versâ* with regard to offences committed in England by British subjects against the Afghan Minister or other persons above-mentioned attached to the Afghan Legation.

(c) (i) A Consul-General, Consuls and members of their staffs and households, who are subjects of the State in which they are employed, shall remain subject in all respect to the jurisdiction, laws and regulations of such State.

(a) A Consul-General, Consuls and members of their staffs and households other than subjects of the State in which they are employed shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts of such State in respect of any criminal offence committed against the Government or subjects of such State, provided that no Consul-General, Consul or member of their staff or household shall suffer any punishment other than fine; provided also that both Governments retain always the right to demand recall from their dominions of any Consul-General, Consul, or member of their staff or household.

(b) A Consul-General, Consuls and members of their staffs and households other than subjects of the State in which they are employed shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts of the said State in respect of any civil cause of action arising in the territory of the said State, provided that they shall enjoy the customary facilities for the performance of the duties.

(c) The Consul-General of Afghanistan and Consuls shall have a right to defend the interests of themselves or any members of their staffs and households who are subjects of their own Governments in any Court through pleaders or by the presence of one of the Consulate officials, with due regard to local procedure and laws.

(d) The Ministers, Consul-General and Consuls of the two High Contracting Parties and the members of their staffs and households shall not take any steps or commit any acts injurious to the interests of the Government of the country to which they are accredited.

(e) The Ministers, Consul-General and Consuls of the two Governments in either country shall be permitted to purchase or hire on behalf of their Governments residences for themselves and their staff and servants, or sites sufficient and suitable for the erection of such residences and grounds of a convenient size attached, and the respective Governments shall give all possible assistance towards such purchase or hire: provided that the Government of the country to which the Ministers or Consuls are accredited shall, in the event of an Embassy or Consulate being permanently withdrawn, have the right to acquire such residences or lands at a price to be mutually agreed on: and provided that the site purchased or hired shall not exceed twenty *jaribs* in area.

Note.—Each *jarib* = 60 × 60 yards, English = 3,600 square yards.

(f) The Ministers, Consul-General and Consuls of the two Governments shall not acquire any immoveable property in the country to which they are accredited without the permission of the Government of the said country.

(g) Neither of the two High Contracting Parties shall found a mosque, church or temple for the use of the public inside any of its Legations or Consulates, nor shall the Ministers, Consul-General or Consuls of either Government or their Secretaries or members of their staffs and households engage in any political agitation or movement within the country to which they are accredited or in which they are residing.

(h) The Ministers, Consul-General and Consuls of the two High Contracting Parties shall not grant naturalisation or passports or certificates of nationality or other documents of identity to the subjects of the country in which they are employed in such capacity.

(i) The Ministers of the two High Contracting Parties besides their own wives and children, may have with them not more than 35 persons, and a Consul-General and Consuls, besides their own wives and children, not more than 20 persons. If it becomes necessary to employ in addition subjects of the Government of the country to which they are accredited, Ministers can employ

not more than ten persons and Consul-General and Consuls not more than five persons.

(j) The Ministers, Consul-General and Consuls of the two High Contracting Parties shall be at liberty to communicate freely with their own Government and with other official representatives of their Government in other countries by post, by telegraph and by wireless telegraphy in cypher or *en clair*, and to receive and despatch sealed bags by courier or post, subject to a limitation in the case of Ministers of six pounds per week, and in the case of a Consul-General and Consuls of four pounds per week, which shall be exempt from postal charges and examination and the safe transmission of which shall, in the case of bags sent by post, be guaranteed by the Postal Departments of the two Governments.

(k) Each of the two Governments shall exempt from the payment of Customs or other duties all articles imported within its boundaries in reasonable quantities for the personal use of the Minister of the other Government or of his family, provided that a certificate is furnished by the Minister at the time of importation that the articles are intended for such personal use.

APPENDIX VIII.

Mr. Gandhi's Letter to His Excellency the Viceroy.

To

His Excellency,
The Viceroy,
Delhi.

Sir,

Bardoli is a small Tehsil in the Surat District in the Bombay Presidency having a population of about 87,000 all told.

On the 29th ultimo, it decided under the Presidency of Mr. Vithalbhai Patel to embark on Mass Civil Disobedience, having proved its fitness for it in terms of the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee which met at Delhi during the first week of November last. But as I am, perhaps, chiefly responsible for Bardoli's decision, I owe it to your Excellency and the public to explain the situation under which the decision has been taken.

It was intended under the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee before referred to to make Bardoli the first unit for Mass Civil Disobedience in order to mark the national revolt against the Government for its consistently criminal refusal to appreciate India's resolve regarding the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj.

Then followed the unfortunate and regrettable riots on the 17th November last in Bombay resulting in the postponement of the step contemplated by Bardoli.

Meantime repression of a virulent type has taken place with the concurrence of the Government of India, in Bengal, Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Province of Delhi and in a way in Bihar and Orissa and elsewhere. I know that you have objected to the use of the word "repression" for describing the action of the authorities in these Provinces. In my opinion, when an action is taken which is in excess of the requirements of the situation, it is undoubtedly repression. The looting of property, assaults on innocent people, brutal treatment of the prisoners in jails, including flogging, can in no sense be described as legal, civilised or in any way necessary. This official lawlessness cannot be described by any other term but lawless repression.

Intimidation by non-co-operators or their sympathisers to a certain extent in connection with hartals and picketing may be admitted, but in no case can it be held to justify the wholesale suppression of peaceful volunteering or equally peaceful public meetings under a distorted use of an extraordinary law which was passed in order to deal with activities which were manifestly violent both in intention and action, nor is it possible to designate as otherwise than repression action taken against innocent people under what has appeared to many of us as an illegal use of the ordinary law nor again can the administrative interference with the liberty of the Press under a law that is under promise of repeal be regarded as anything but repression.

The immediate task before the country, therefore, is to rescue from paralysis freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of Press.

In the present mood of the Government of India and in the present unprepared state of the country in respect of complete control of the forces of violence, non-co-operators were unwilling to have anything to do with the Malaviya Conference whose object was to induce Your Excellency to convene a Round Table Conference. But as I was anxious to avoid all avoidable suffering, I had no hesitation in advising the Working Committee of the Congress to accept the recommendations of that Conference.

Although, in my opinion, the terms were quite in keeping with your own requirements, as I understood them through your Calcutta speech and otherwise, you have summarily rejected the proposal.

In the circumstances, there is nothing before the country but to adopt some non-violent method for the enforcement of its demands, including the elementary rights of free speech, free association and free Press. In my humble opinion, the recent events are a clear departure from the civilized policy laid down by Your Excellency at the time of the generous, manly and unconditional apology of the Ali Brothers, viz., that the Government of India should not interfere with the activities of non-co-operation so long as they remained non-violent in word and deed. Had the Government policy remained neutral and allowed public opinion to ripen and have its full effect, it would have been possible to advise postponement of the adoption of Civil Disobedience of an aggressive type till the Congress had acquired fuller control over the forces of violence in the country and enforced greater discipline among the millions of its adherents. But the lawless repression (in a way unparalleled in the history of this unfortunate country) has made immediate adoption of Mass Civil Disobedience, an imperative duty. The Working Committee of the Congress has restricted it only to certain areas to be selected by me from time to time and at present it is confined only to Bardoli. I may under said authority give my consent at once in respect of a group of 100 villages in Guntur in the Madras Presidency, provided they can strictly conform to the conditions of non-violence, unity among different classes, the adoption and manufacture of hand-spun Khaddar and untouchability.

But before the people of Bardoli actually commence Mass Civil Disobedience, I would respectfully urge you as the head of the Government of India finally to revise your policy and set free all the non-co-operating prisoners who are convicted or under trial for non-violent activities and declare in clear terms the policy of absolute non-interference with all non-violent activities in the country, whether they be regarding the redress of the Khilafat or the Punjab wrongs or Swaraj or any other purpose and even though they fall within the repressive sections of the Penal Code or the Criminal Procedure Code or other repressive laws, subject always to the condition of non-violence. I would further urge you to free the Press from all administrative control and restore all the fines and forfeitures recently imposed. In thus urging I am asking Your Excellency to do what is to-day being done in every country which is deemed to be under civilized Government. If you can see your way to make the necessary declaration within seven days of the date of publication of this manifesto, I shall be prepared to advise postponement of Civil Disobedience of an aggressive character till the imprisoned workers have after their discharge reviewed the whole situation and considered the position de novo. If the Government make the requested declaration, I shall regard it as an honest desire on its part to give effect to public opinion and shall, therefore, have no hesitation in advising the country to be engaged in further moulding the public opinion without violent restraint from either side and trust to its working to secure the fulfilment of its unalterable demands.

Aggressive Civil Disobedience in that case will be taken up only when the Government departs from its policy of strictest neutrality or refuses to yield to the clearly expressed opinion of the vast majority of the people of India.

I remain,
Your Excellency's
faithful servant and friend,
M. K. GANDHI.

Bardoli, 1st February, 1922.

APPENDIX IX.

Government of India Communiqué.

Delhi, Feb. 6.

The Manifesto issued by Mr. Gandhi on the 4th February justifying his determination to resort to Mass Civil Disobedience contains a series of mis-statements. Some of these are so important that the Government of India cannot allow them to pass unchallenged. In the first place, they emphatically repudiate the statement that they have embarked on a policy of lawless repression and also the suggestion that the present campaign of civil disobedience has been forced on the non-co-operation party in order to secure the elementary rights of free association, free speech and of free press.

In limine, the Government of India desire to draw attention to the fact that the decision to adopt a programme of civil disobedience was finally accepted on the 4th November before the recent notifications relating either to the Seditious Meetings Act or the Criminal Law Amendment Act to which Mr. Gandhi unmistakably refers, were issued. It was in consequence of the serious acts of lawlessness committed by persons who professed to be followers of Mr. Gandhi and non-co-operation movement that the Government were forced to take measures which are in strict accordance with the law for the protection of peaceful citizens in the pursuit of their lawful avocations. Since the inauguration of the non-co-operation movement the Government of India, actuated by a desire to avoid anything in the nature of repression of political activity even though it was of an extreme character, have restricted their actions in relation thereto to such measures as were necessary for the maintenance of law and order and the preservation of public tranquillity.

Up to November no step, save in Delhi last year were taken against the Volunteer Associations. In November, however, the Government were confronted with a new and dangerous situation. In the course of the past year there had been systematic attempts to tamper with the loyalty of the soldiers and the police and there has occurred numerous outbreaks of serious disorder directly attributable to the propaganda of the non-co-operation party amongst the ignorant and excitable masses. These outbreaks had resulted in grave loss of life, the growth of a dangerous spirit of lawlessness and an increasing disregard for lawful authority. In November they culminated in the grave riots in Bombay in which 53 persons lost their lives and approximately 400 were wounded. On the same date, dangerous manifestations of lawlessness occurred in many other places and at this period it became clear that many of the Volunteers associations had embarked on a systematic campaign of violence, intimidation and obstruction to combat which proceedings under the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure had proved ineffective.

In these circumstances the Government were reluctantly compelled to resort to measures of a more comprehensive and drastic character.

Nevertheless the operation of the Seditious Meetings Act was strictly limited to a few districts in which the risk of grave disturbances of the peace was specially great and the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, of 1908

was confined to associations, the majority of the members of which had b
ually indulged in violence and intimidation. It is impossible here to set out
details the evidence which justified the adoption of these measures in
different provinces. Abundant proof is, however, to be found in the publis
proceedings of the various legislative bodies, in the communiqués of differ
local Governments, and in the pronouncements of the heads of provin
While resolute in their determination to enforce respect for law and or
and to protect loyal and peaceful subjects of the Crown, the Governm
have at the same time taken every precaution possible to mitigate wh
desirable the conditions of imprisonment and to avoid any action wh
might have the appearance of vindictive severity. Ample proof of
will be found in the orders issued by local Governments. Numerous offend
have been released, sentences have been reduced and special considerat
has been shown in the case of persons convicted of offences under the Sedit
Meetings Act or the Criminal Law Amendment Act. There is then no shad
of justification for the charge that their policy has been one of indiscrimin
and lawless repression.

A further charge which has been brought by Mr. Gandhi is that the rec
measures of Government have involved a departure from the civilised po
laid down by His Excellency at the time of the apology of the Ali Broth
namely, that the Government of India should not interfere with the activi
of non-co-operation so long as they remained non-violent in word and de
The following citation from the communiqué of the Government of India iss
on the 30th May conclusively disprove the statement. After explaining t
in view of the solemn undertaking contained in the statement over t
signature, it had been decided to refrain from instituting criminal proceedi
against Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali, the Government of In
observed: "It must not be inferred from the original determination of
Government to prosecute for speeches inciting to violence that promo
disaffection of a less violent character is not an offence against the law.
Government of India desire to make it plain that they will enforce the
relating to offences against the State as and when they may think fit aga
any persons who have committed breaches of it."

It remains with the Government of India to deal with the allegation
His Excellency summarily rejected the proposal for a Conference altho
the terms put forward by the Conference at Bombay and accepted by
Working Committee of the Congress were "quite in keeping with
Excellency's own requirements as indicated in his speech at Calcut
How far this is far from being the case will be manifested from a compar
of His Excellency's speech with the terms proposed by the confere
His Excellency in that speech insisted on the imperative nece
as a fundamental condition precedent to the discussion of any questio
a conference, of the discontinuance of the unlawful activities of the no
operation party. No assurance on this point was, however, contained in
proposals advanced by the Conference. On the contrary whilst the Gov
ment were asked to make concessions which not only included the withdr
of the notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment and Seditious Mee
Acts and the release of persons convicted thereunder, but also the release o
persons convicted of offences designed to affect the loyalty of the army
the submission to an arbitration committee of the cases of other persons
victed under the ordinary law of the land. There was no suggestion that
all the illegal activities of the non-co-operators other than Hartals, pick
and civil disobedience should cease. Moreover, it was evident from the s
ments made by Mr. Gandhi at the Conference that he intended to con
the enrolment of volunteers in prohibited associations and the prepara
for civil disobedience. Further Mr. Gandhi also made it apparent that

proposed Round Table Conference would be called merely to register his decision. It is idle to suggest that terms of this character fulfilled in any way the conditions laid down by His Excellency or can reasonably be described as having been made in response to the sentiments expressed by him.

Finally, the Government of India desire to draw attention to the demands put forward in the concluding paragraph of Mr. Gandhi's present manifesto which exceeded even the demands made by the Working Committee of the Congress. Mr. Gandhi's demands now include (1) the release of all prisoners " convicted or under trial for non-violent activities (2) a guarantee that the Government will refrain from interference with all non-violent activities of the non-co-operation party, even though they fall within the purview of the Indian Penal Code or in other words an undertaking that Government will indefinitely hold in abeyance in regard to the non-co-operators the ordinary and the long established laws of the land." In return for these concessions he indicates that he intends to continue the illegal and seditious propaganda and operations of the non-co-operation party and merely offers to postpone civil disobedience of an aggressive character until the offenders now in jail have had an opportunity of reviewing the whole situation. In the same paragraph he reaffirms the unalterable character of the demands of his party.

The Government of India are confident that all right thinking citizens will recognise that this manifesto constitutes no response whatever to the speech of His Excellency at Calcutta and the demands made are such as no Government could discuss much less accept. The alternatives that now confront the people of India are such as sophistry can no longer obscure or disguise. The issue is no longer between this or that programme of political advance but between lawlessness with all its dangerous consequences on the one hand, and on the other, the maintenance of those principles which lie at the root of all civilised Government. Mass Civil Disobedience is fraught with such dangers to the State that it must be met with firmness and severity. The Government [illegible] to feel that in any measures which they have to take for its suppression they can count on the support and assistance of all law-abiding and loyal citizens of His Majesty.



APPENDIX X.

Lord Reading's Address to both Houses of Imperial Legislature.

Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature.—It is my privilege as Viceroy to welcome to-day the members of both Houses of the Indian Legislature at the opening of the second session. It is my first opportunity of taking part in this ceremony and I am fully conscious of the importance of the occasion. One memorable session has already been held when a standard of political wisdom and debating capacity was set that may well be a source of legitimate pride and satisfaction to those who contributed to the reputation thus attained. You, who stood for election and became the representatives of these new Councils and, in consequence, were subjected to attack and criticism, have already, by your actions justified the position you adopted. At this present juncture my Government and you are faced with difficult problems, which demand all the political judgment and foresight we can contribute to their solution.

The Prince's forthcoming visit.

I propose to-day to refer only to the more important of the problems and in their broadest aspect and to survey with you the general conditions affecting India, but before I enter into the region of possible controversy I must discharge the pleasing and privileged task of referring to the impending visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the son and heir of our beloved King-Emperor. You will remember that a little more than a year ago His Majesty the King-Emperor, by Royal-Proclamation, informed the Princes and people of India of his decision that the visit of the Prince of Wales to India must be deferred for a time in order that His Royal Highness might recover from the fatigue of his labours in other parts of the Empire. We have recently heard, to our great joy, that the health of His Royal Highness has been sufficiently restored to enable the visit to take place in November next. The ceremony of inaugurating the Reformed Legislature, which was to have been his, has been performed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and India will not readily forget the sympathy and love which inspired him, the devoted friend of India, in the discharge of his great mission.

The Prince of Wales will come to India on this occasion as the son of the King-Emperor and as the heir to the Throne, not as the representative of any Government, or to promote the interests of any political party, but in order to become personally acquainted with the Princes and the people of India and to see as much as will be possible during his visit, of this most interesting country. I know that I may safely count on those who belong to this great Indian Empire, and more particularly on the representatives of the Reformed Legislatures now gathered within these walls, to give to His Royal Highness, who has endeared himself to all who have been privileged to meet him, a warm welcome, characteristic of the traditional loyalty of the Indian people and their devotion to the King-Emperor and his House.

Sir T. Holland's great services.

You will already have learnt that the resignation tendered by Sir Thomas Holland has been accepted by His Majesty. In communicating to me the regret with which he had reached his conclusion the Secretary of State expresses his general sense of the importance of the contribution which Sir Thomas Holland had made to the industrial development of India. The Secretary of State further records his appreciation of the high ability and strenuous labours which Sir Thomas Holland devoted during the war to the task of organising and increasing the supply of munitions. His services then rendered were of the highest value not only to India but to the Empire, which the Secretary of State gratefully recognises. I associate myself with the tribute and add only that my regret is the greater because I lose a colleague in the Council with whom I have been associated from the moment I became Viceroy. The facts and conclusions of my Government have already been placed before you in the official statement published by my Government and I need not refer to them again.

The Principles Involved.

The public felt, and beyond all doubt rightly felt, that the proceedings in court had shaken the very foundations of justice. Fundamental principles of administration and justice had been violated and the acceptance of the resignation was, therefore, inevitable. Our conclusions were announced only in relation to the proceedings in court, to the omission to refer to me, as the head of the Government. Lest there should be any misapprehension I must, however, add on my own behalf and that of my colleagues that the existence of civil suits against the Government by the accused should have been entirely disregarded in relation to the criminal case; their unconditional withdrawal ought not to have had any influence upon consideration of the withdrawal of the prosecution. The lesson that we have learnt from these unfortunate events is that it is very desirable that the direction and control of Government prosecutions should be in the hands of a trained lawyer. The matter will be considered by my Government. I cannot but think that the absence of this training contributed largely to the difficulties in which my late colleague, Sir Thomas Holland, found himself involved.

The Afghan Treaty Still in Embryo.

Let me now turn to external affairs. You will naturally wish to know the result of our negotiations with the Afghan Government. I had hoped that I should be in a position to-day to make an announcement to you respecting them; but though it was so far back as January last that at the invitation of the Afghan Government we despatched a mission to Kabul for the negotiation of a treaty of friendship, its outcome is still uncertain. Negotiations of this character, especially when supervening on actual war are often not brought to a speedy close and these negotiations have been protracted by developments beyond the limit of my Government's anticipations, but, despite all untoward complications or unexpected difficulties, I hope that we may before long conclude a new and abiding treaty of friendship with Afghanistan which will ensure the continuance of our traditional relations with this nation.

Less Unrest on the Frontier.

The Frontier, unhappily, is still suffering from the unsettling influence of the Great War and the other excitements and instigations of recent years, but notwithstanding the drought and great scarcity of the present year, which have done much to accentuate the economic difficulty that lies at the root of the frontier problem, unrest in Baluchistan has almost wholly subsided. Even in the North-West Frontier Province, with its narrow belt of British districts between the Indus and the frontier hills exposed at all times to the brunt of tribal

lawlessness, there is comparative quietude, save in Waziristan. Military operations have now been in progress in Waziristan for several months. They have been conducted by our troops in the face of many hardships and against an elusive enemy, with a fortitude and gallantry worthy of all praise. I trust that these operations may not long have to be continued. They are slow and costly. The problem of the inhospitable frontier does not lend itself to a cheap or easy solution, but India's duty seems clear and it must always be remembered that the expenditure on frontier defence is incurred not merely for the defence of the sorely harassed inhabitants of our border districts against trans-frontier lawlessness and raids; it is incurred for the defence of India as a whole and is an expenditure which India will assuredly not grudge.

The Greco-Turkish war.

Unhappily, Greece and Turkey are still at war, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the Allies, and notably of His Majesty's Government, to effectuate a settlement of the grave disputes between these two countries. My distinguished predecessor, Lord Chelmsford, forcibly and persistently represented the views of the Indian Moslems to His Majesty's Government and, to the best of my capacity, I have pursued, and shall pursue, the same course. It is also well known that the Secretary of State for India has laboured most loyally and strenuously to persuade the Allies to adopt a policy more in consonance with the opinions of India. I dare not at this moment, when the operations of war are proceeding, hazard an opinion as to the future, but I may express my fervent hope that a treaty of peace may soon be concluded on terms which will be reasonably satisfactory to Turkey and also to Indian Moslem opinion.

May I also observe that differences between some portion of the Moslem populations that hold extreme views and the rest of the Indian Moslem opinions do not strengthen the representations, which I may make to His Majesty's Government in order that we may bring about a settlement satisfactory to Moslem opinion in India? (Applause).

The International Court of Justice.

It is some consolation in these days to turn from the contemplation of warlike operations to the labours of the League of Nations. India took its stand from the first for the League which, in my judgment, gives the best hope of preventing future wars. The creation of a permanent international court of justice is one step, and not an unimportant step, in the settlement of disputes by the arbitrament of reason; and in this connection I am pleased to be able to ratify the acceptance of the statute for the constitution of a permanent court of international justice, which was accepted by the representatives of India on the Assembly of the League of Nations.

The judges of the court will be elected by the Assembly of the League of Nations, and by the Council from lists of persons nominated by national groups representing the various nations which have accepted and ratified this statute.

National Group for India.

In appointing this national group for India my Government have endeavoured to select persons of the highest reputation and competency, and I am confident you will agree with me that Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, now a member of the Executive Council at Madras, Mr. Justice Rankin, Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, Mr. S. Hassan Imam, Bar-at-Law, Patna, and Sir Thomas Strangman, Advocate-General in Bombay, who have accepted the appointments as members of the national group, fulfil these conditions. Their duties will be to

nominate persons from whom the judges of the court will subsequently be elected. The court will have jurisdiction in cases of disputes between members of the League which the members agree to refer to it and also international disputes in labour cases and in transit and communication cases.

The Imperial Conference.

I have followed with the deepest interest the events at the Imperial Conference in London, where India had the good fortune of being represented by the Secretary of State, the Maharao of Cutch and the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, one of His Majesty's Privy Councillors. Although they were not able to achieve all they wished, it cannot be doubted that they have secured a notable recognition of the status of Indians in the Empire. It may be a tardy recognition, but it establishes beyond all question and authoritatively, by the conclusions of the Premiers assembled at the Imperial Conference with one dissentient, the equal status of Indians in the Empire. Secondly, the attitude of His Majesty's Government and their recognition of this principle will mean that it will be applied in other parts of the Empire which are not under Dominion Government, and notably in East Africa. In India we cannot but rejoice at these conclusions, notwithstanding that we deeply regret that the representaives of South Africa felt themselves unable to accept them. We must not close our eyes to their difficulties—these are of a special character—but we must continue our efforts to bring about a recognition in South Africa. Assuredly we need not be discouraged by the result at the Imperial Conference; indeed, we should be stimulated to continue our labours, and I give you my assurance that I will strive to the full extent of the power and the ability I may possess, to obtain the recognition in South Africa and elsewhere of the principle accepted by the other Dominions and His Majesty's Government and to secure that it shall be so interpreted as to satisfy Indian pride and patriotism.

Tribute to India's representatives.

I cannot pass from this subject without expressing gratitude to the representatives of India who represented the interests of Indians so ably and eloquently. I have read with great pleasure the reports of the reception of the Maharao of Cutch and Mr. Sastri. It is beyond doubt that they have raised the status of Indians in the Councils of the British Empire. They have contributed to the appreciation of the intellectual capacity, the graceful courtesy and the sensitive responsiveness of Indians and have made a deep impression upon all with whom they have come into contact in England and elsewhere.

The Moplah Rebellion.

When I approach an examination of the internal condition of India I find much that is hopeful for the future and my belief in your capacity to assist me and my Government in promoting the general welfare of the country is a constant encouragement in the performance of our duties, but there is still, unhappily, unrest in some parts of the country, which continues to receive the serious consideration of my Government. The most recent manifestation is in the district of Malabar and thoughts naturally turn to the grave reports of crime and disorder which necessitated the issue by me of an Ordinance proclaiming Martial Law in certain parts of this district. I trust I need not assure you that having passed my life in the profession of the law and steeped as I am in the liberal traditions of England, I would never proclaim Martial Law unless I was convinced that it was absolutely necessary for the security of the country and for the safety of the population in the disturbed areas. In my judgment I should have failed in my duty if I had not taken this step in the

emergency that arose and had not given to the local Government all the assistance and support that could be rendered in quelling the uprising of the Moplahs and in protecting innocent citizens against the criminal acts of a violent mob.

We must, however, be careful to view these disturbances in their proper setting. It would be rash and, in my view, wrong to assume that this rising is to be taken as symptomatic of the condition of the whole of India. It must be remembered that this district has always been a storm centre and serious incidents have occurred in the past. I shall not enter into a lengthy discussion of the events and conditions that led to this serious outbreak which may be said without exaggeration of language, to have assumed the character of a rebellion because I am well aware that you will have opportunities of discussing these matters in the course of your debates.

Origin of the trouble.

I shall only make some general observations for your consideration. It is obvious, from the reports received, that the ground had been carefully prepared for the purpose of creating an atmosphere favourable to violence and no effort had been spared to rouse the passion and fury of the Moplahs. The spark which kindled the flame was the resistance, by a large and hostile crowd of Moplahs armed with swords and knives, to a lawful attempt by the police to effect certain arrests in connection with a case of house breaking. The police were powerless to effect the capture of the criminals and the significance of the incident was that it was regarded as a defeat of the police and therefore of the Government. Additional troops and special police had to be drafted to Malabar in order to effect the arrests. The subsequent events are now fairly well known although it is impossible at present to state the number of the innocent victims of the Moplahs. These events have been chronicled in the press. I shall not recapitulate them.

Some of the Results of the outbreak.

The situation is now to all intents and purposes in hand. It has been saved by the prompt and effective action of the military and naval assistance, for which we are duly grateful, although some time must necessarily elapse before order can be completely restored and normal life under the civil Government resumed. But consider the sacrifice of life and property. A few Europeans and many Hindus have been murdered, communications have been obstructed; Government offices burnt and looted and records have been destroyed; Hindu temples sacked; houses of Europeans and Hindus burnt. According to reports, Hindus were forcibly converted to Islam and one of the most fertile tracts of South India is threatened with famine. The result has been the temporary collapse of civil Government, offices and courts have ceased to function and ordinary business has been brought to a standstill. European and Hindu refugees of all classes are concentrated at Calicut, and it is satisfactory to know that they are safe there. One trembles to think of the consequences if the forces of order had not prevailed for the protection of Calicut. The non-Moslem in these parts was fortunate indeed, if either he or his family or his house or property came near the protection of the soldier and the police. Those who are responsible for causing this grave outbreak of violence and crime must be brought to justice and made to suffer the punishment of the guilty, but apart from direct responsibility, can it be doubted that when poor unfortunate and deluded people are led to believe that they should disregard the law and defy authority, violence and crime follow this outbreak as but another instance, on a much more serious scale and among a more turbulent and fanatical people, of the conditions that have manifested themselves at times in various parts of the country?

Failure of the non-violence cult.

And, gentlemen, I ask myself and you and the country generally, what else can result from instilling such doctrines into the minds of masses of the people? How can there be peace and tranquillity when ignorant people who have no means of testing the truth of the inflammatory, and too often deliberately false, statements made to them are thus misled by those whose design it is to provoke violence and disorder? Passions are thus easily excited to unreasoning fury. Although I freely acknowledge that the leader of the movement to paralyse authority persistently, and as I believe in all earnestness and sincerity, preaches the doctrine of non-violence and has even reproved his followers for resorting to it, yet again and again it has been shown that his doctrine is completely forgotten and his exhortations absolutely disregarded, when passions are excited, as must inevitably be the consequence among emotional people. To us who are responsible for the peace and good government of this great Empire —and I trust to men of sanity and commonsense in all classes of society—it must be clear that defiance of the Government and constituted authority can only result in disorder, in political chaos, in anarchy and in ruin.

Government Determined to do its duty.

There are signs that the activity of the movement or at least one section of it, may take a form of even a more direct challenge to law and order. There has been wild talk of a general policy of disobedience to law in some cases, I regret to say, accompanied by an open recognition that such a course must lead to disorder and bloodshed. Attempts have been made by some fanatical followers of Islam to seduce His Majesty's soldiers and police from their allegiance, attempts that have, I am glad to say, met with no success. As head of the Government, however, I need not assure you that we shall not be deterred one hair's breadth from doing our duty. We shall continue to do all in our power to protect the lives and property of all law-abiding citizens and to secure to them their right to pursue their lawful avocations and above all we shall continue to enforce the ordinary law and to take care that it is respected. It is the manifest duty of every loyal subject of the King-Emperor, just as it is the interest of all who wish to live with a security of protection against violence and crime, to oppose publicly, a movement fraught with such dangerous possibilities and to help the officers of Government in their task of preventing and suppressing disorder and all this time I and my colleagues are ready and anxious to do all that is possible to allay legitimate discontent and to remedy the grievances of the people of India.

I am free to admit that there are grievances to be remedied and we are constantly directing our attention to devising the proper remedies for this purpose and I am well aware that we can rely upon your assistance in this and future sessions, for you sit here to mirror public opinion and I and my Government will continue gladly to welcome the help you may give to us. You, the first representatives of this Legislature, can already point to solid achievement as the result of your deliberations and activities.

The Councillors' labours.

I shall not attempt to chronicle them, but I shall refer to some important instances. A committee was appointed to examine the laws dealing with the press. Its report is now before you. The personnel of the committee which included members of both your houses was predominantly non-official and its recommendations which I am glad to say were unanimous, may be accepted as reflecting the popular views of the laws in question. Legislation on the lines recommended by the committee will shortly be laid before you. Its most im-

portant feature will be the proposal to repeal the Press Act of 1910. There however, one part of the report upon which I think it is necessary to m some reservation, and that is in relation to the protection hitherto afford since 1910 to Ruling Princes against seditious attacks upon them in new papers published in British India. If the Press Act is repealed it may bec necessary to consider what form of protection shall be given to them in s situation. I will not pursue the subject now but it will doubtless be discuss at a later stage.

The Repressive Laws Committee, another committee of a very similar char ter, has recently made a careful examination of certain laws and regulati which confer extraordinary powers on the Executive Government. Their port will shortly be published and I trust that it will command your app val and that of the country at large. I cannot make an announcement rega ing the legislative measures that will result from the Committee's labours as t have not yet been considered by my Government, but I think I may safely that a number of laws popularly regarded as infringements of the liberty the subject will, in all probability, be repealed.

Case of Martial law prisoners.

The consideration of this subject brings me not unnaturally to the cases the 86 men sentenced in connection with the Punjab disturbances of 1919 w are still in jail. I wish it had been possible for me to-day to have announced decision to you, but I am not yet quite ready to declare it. I confess t when I undertook myself to examine each of these 86 cases I under-estima the labour involved and I did not sufficiently realise the constant demands u my time consequent upon the responsibility of the position I occupy. U pected events happen and decisions must be made immediately, and I am s that I need not remind you of the unexpected incidents that have happe during my short period of office.

Military Requirements Committee.

Last session, you will remember that as the result of the discussion u the presidency of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, a committee sat to consider the military requirements of India. The report of the Comm tee will be considered in London by a sub-committee of the Committee of perial Defence and we must await their decisions. A notification has b issued constituting seven Territorial Force units in different parts of India in Burma in addition to university corps. It is hoped that numbers of cruits will be forthcoming to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded acquiring military training so as to fit them to take a share in the defenc their country. My Government will spare no pains to further the interest the Territorial Force and it now rests with the people of India to make scheme a success.

Military College at Dehra Dun.

A resolution was passed by the Legislative Assembly last session re mending the establishment of a college in India to train Indian lads who sired to enter the Indian Army through Sandhurst. A scheme on these has been forwarded for the approval of the Secretary of State and as soo that has been received rapid progress will be made with the adaptation of buildings formerly occupied by the Imperial Cadet Corps at Dehra Dun, so fit them for a college of this nature. It is hoped that the Prince of Wales be pleased to perform the opening ceremony and that the preliminary will be completed in time to enable the college to be in working order.

college will be large enough to accommodate 70 pupils in the first instance and if it proves a success it will be possible to make expansion in the immediate vicinity of the college.

A subject which has occupied your attention and that of the Indian public and roused great interest is that relating to the free admission of Indians to all arms of His Majesty's military and naval forces in India. In accordance with the resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly my Government is now in communication with the Secretary of State with the object of enabling Indians to qualify for commissions in the Artillery and Engineer service in this country and it is examining, in consultation with the Secretary of State, the question of the provision of facilities for Indians to be trained for commissions in the Royal Air Force. A scheme is also under consideration for enabling Indian lads to qualify themselves by a period of training in England for commissioned rank in the Royal Indian Marine.

Expected revival of Trade.

The financial discussions occupied much time last session and you will not expect me to say anything fresh at this moment regarding the present trade and financial conditions. We are still awaiting that long expected revival in the demand abroad for India's products. This has been a very long time in coming and I am sure the patience of many of us must have been sorely tried. Those who are in touch with our export markets tell me, however, that there are at last some faint, though unmistakeable, glimmerings of revival and that if the monsoon continues good to the end, as we now have reason to hope it may, we shall before long see the beginning of a return to more normal conditions and perhaps to something like our pre-war balance of trade. I mention this feeling of mild optimism as it seems to be held in well informed circles; for myself, I cannot attempt to prophesy. I would, however, invite your assent to two general observations. The first is that India's own financial position is, as I believe, intrinsically sound. The State may have been occasionally forced, during the war, to do things which must have seemed to be a departure from the severe conservatism which had hitherto characterised the management of India's finances, but when we remember what most other belligerent countries were forced to do and the enormous inflation of currency and credit, leading in many cases to something like national bankruptcy, which has followed elsewhere, we may, I think at the risk of being considered pharisaical, thank heaven that we are not as other countries. A country that can put up nearly Rs. 50 crores of new money for a national loan need not entertain many qualms as to its financial future.

My second observation is merely a corollary from the first. Seeing that the existing difficulties of India's trade are due almost entirely to causes external to herself it follows that when that revival of international trade comes, as come it must, then India will be one of the first countries to reap the benefit. The products which she has to offer to the rest of the world are not luxuries the purchase of which other countries can defer until their finances are in better order but are for the most part necessities, either as foodstuffs or as raw products for their manufactures. All these factors combined must make India's position one of great advantage as soon as trade revives and justify a refusal to be depressed by budget deficits, low exchange or other circumstances of the moment.

The question of high prices.

In considering the condition of the people of India the greatest importance must always be attributed to the high prices now ruling for the necessaries of

life. This subject is constantly engaging the attention of my Government and in particular has been directed to the extraordinary recent rise in the price, particularly, of wheat and of rice. You will have observed from a statement issued by my Government this morning that we shall continue the existing prohibition of the export of wheat, *atta* and flour until at least the end of March 1922. It is also proposed that so far as possible the requirements of wheat for the army in India or based on India will for the present be supplied by the purchase of Australian wheat. It is hoped that by these means relief will be given and that the rise will be checked, if not counteracted. My Government will not fail to watch events in this connection. Their importance on the political condition of India is perhaps greater than is usually recognised.

The Fiscal Commission.

Our arrangements for the Fiscal Commission are well advanced and I trust that Commission will begin its important labours next month. In recognition of India's advance towards fiscal autonomy the majority of the members of the Commission will be Indians and it is also intended that the chairman shall be an Indian. I regret that at this moment arrangements are not sufficiently completed to enable me to give names. The task before the Commission is one of enormous difficulty. Its duty will be to advise the Government of India, not only whether India should approve in the interests of the solidarity of the Empire the principle of imperial preference, but also whether we should abandon our time-honoured policy of a tariff raised primarily for revenue purposes in favour of a policy of protection. The task thus opens up questions of great difficulty and complexity, but I am confident that the Commission will approach them with a high sense of responsibility and that its reports will be of the greatest assistance and value to the Government of India.

Labour Problems.

The Government recognise that during the last few years there has been a great awakening on the part of Indian Labour and they are fully alive to the new conditions that such an awakening demands. The Bill to amend the Indian Factories Act, which is now under your consideration, has the two-fold object of increasing the efficiency of Indian labour and bettering its conditions. Another social measure to which we attach great importance is a Bill to regulate the grant of compensation to workmen for injuries received in the course of their employment, which we hope to introduce early in 1922. The recent industrial unrest has also been accompanied by a growth in the number of trade unions and the question of giving adequate protection and legal status to those unions which are genuine labour organisations is at present under consideration. The Government are also carefully studying the question of arbitration and conciliation. We are glad to observe that this matter of the settlement of Labour disputes is receiving considerable attention from provincial governments and in provincial legislatures. I am full of hope that the various measures that are now being adopted or being recommended to employers as well as to employés will establish the peace and harmony that is absolutely necessary for the development of our industries.

Racial Tension.

The evidence of strong racial antagonism that to some extent prevails has caused me the greatest concern. Since my arrival in India regrettable incidents have come to my notice on both sides. At the same time I am far from asserting that the fault is all on one side. It seems to me tha among the

factors contributing to this unhappy racial tension, instances of violence and discourtesy by Europeans against Indians which occur from time to time, although in truth I believe infrequently, cannot be overlooked. There is in general, I venture to assert, no ground of complaint to be made, but any instance of incivility attracts far more attention than the usual and infinitely more numerous instances of courtesy by Europeans to Indians. Neither can it be said that the results of the trials of Europeans concerned in criminal cases arising from acts of violence or from improper conduct have always given satisfaction to the public. I have been made aware of a very prevalent feeling amongst Indians that in such cases strict justice does not always result when a European is concerned and it cannot be said that the result of such trials always satisfies the public conscience. In particular my attention has been drawn to the differences in the legal procedure applicable to Europeans and Indians. Local Governments have been consulted and an opportunity will be taken during the course of the present session to lay before you the proposals of my Government as to the steps which should be taken for further examination of this question and I trust that in the result means will be found to satisfy public opinion that justice will be done, both to Europeans and Indians.

There are many other subjects which will be considered by you during the course of this session. There are questions of importance to which I have not even referred as I do not wish to detain you too long, in particular I would mention the interest taken by Sir Thomas Holland on the industrial development of India. By his departure we lose the benefit of the services of one who has laboured faithfully and capably to this end. There are projects of irrigation which specially attract my attention. I wish I could have discussed them. There is again education which is dear to my heart and upon which I should like to have made some observations to you, but I must content myself with the knowledge that there will be other opportunities and that all these subjects will come before you in the ordinary course of your deliberations and will receive careful attention.

During the time that I have been Viceroy I have been in constant intercourse with the men of the public services of this country, both British and Indian, and I desire to take this opportunity of expressing publicly my grateful thanks to them for the assistance they have rendered to me and to Government, my appreciation of the services they are always ready to perform, my recognition of the inevitable promptness with which they have responded to what I must confess to be the inordinate demands made by me upon their time and their labours.

Moulding the future.

Now, Gentlemen, I shall not detain you longer. Sitting here in this chamber, at the first meeting of this session of the reformed legislature in Simla, I find my mind surging with imagination as to the future. I know that you are sitting here under a constitution which has never been presented otherwise than for the purposes of the transitional stage. There are resolutions that will come before you during the sittings of your Assembly urging your advance along the road of constitutional progress. I am carefully watching and studying the working of this machinery and I am satisfied that in the short space of time in which it has already existed you have not yet sufficiently tested its perfections (if you are ready to admit that it has any), also its imperfections. You have already to some extent discovered it is a human machine, with human imperfections. It has never been presented otherwise than as a compromise and it will take a little time before we can fully realise

how it will work and how this machinery will fit in with the complex machinery of the Government of India. I will not at this moment hazard any observation as to the future. I am not so young as most of you who are present here (laughter). I am prone to the caution of age and therefore will wait until I have had a little more opportunity of judging before I pronounce my conclusions; but these questions will be raised by you in this legislature, which has still some sessions before it. There will be opportunities for full consideration and deliberation.

I have already pointed out the results of the labours of this Assembly during the short period of its first session. I have dilated briefly upon some of the results of the creation of this reformed legislature. You have gathered a good harvest, for as a result of the committees appointed and legislation following upon your resolutions and the expression of your opinions duly recorded by Government you are already able to point to a large volume of Government action taken to redress grievances. May I again, taking advantage of my years as we elderly people so often do (laughter), add one word of warning? I do not think you can always expect at every session to garner so rich a harvest (laughter).

A common purpose.

In conclusion let me say to you as a member of this legislature now present with you, addressing general observations upon present conditions, that we are all working together with one single purpose in view, the promotion of the welfare and happiness of India (applause). We have no other object; we have no other desire, except this, which binds us all together and which calls for the manifestation of that spirit of mutual goodwill and forbearance without which no deliberations can be effective and lead to lasting results. In leaving you to your labours I make an appeal to you, which I am confident I shall not make in vain: do not content yourselves with merely doing your duty in this legislature, although I know it makes a great demand upon your time. It needs patriotism to sacrifice leisure and sometimes remunerative occupation to take part in the deliberations of this Assembly. You may think—no, I will not say that: but some persons may think—that this is a sufficient demand to make upon you. It is not. No demand is too great when there is need for patriotism. It is essential that men like yourselves, who are assisting Government by your advice, for Government is always seeking knowledge, should go forth among the people, not only at the time of election, when constituents must always be remembered, but at other times. You must be conscious that you are taking part in important deliberations and that you are thus assisting in moulding the destinies of this great Empire. You are, permit me to say, inscribing your names on the golden roll of patriotic service and are devoting yourselves to great work and in this high purpose are true to your God, to yourselves and to your country. (Prolonged applause.)

APPENDIX XI.

Bardoli Resolutions.

The Working Committee of the Congress met at Bardoli on the 11th and 12th February 1922 and passed the following resolutions :—

(1) The Working Committee deplores the inhuman conduct of the mob at Chauri Chaura in having brutally murdered constables and wantonly burned the Police Thana and tenders its sympathy to the families of the bereaved.

(2) In view of Nature's repeated warnings, every time mass civil disobedience has been imminent some popular violent outburst has taken place indicating that the atmosphere in the country is not non-violent enough for mass disobedience, the latest instance being the tragic and terrible events at Chauri Chaura near Gorakhpur, the Working Committee of the Congress resolves that mass civil disobedience contemplated at Bardoli and elsewhere be suspended and instructs the local Congress Committees forthwith to advise the cultivators to pay the land revenue and other taxes due to the Government and whose payment might have been suspended in anticipation of mass civil disobedience, and instructs them to suspend every other preparatory activity of an offensive nature.

(3) The suspension of mass civil disobedience shall be continued till the atmosphere is so non-violent as to ensure the non-repetition of popular atrocities such as at Gorakhpur or hooliganism such as at Bombay and Madras respectively on 17th November 1921 and 13th January last.

(4) In order to promote a peaceful atmosphere, the Working Committee advises, till further instruction, all Congress organisations to stop activities specially designed to court arrest and imprisonment, save normal Congress activities including voluntary *hartals* where an absolutely peaceful atmosphere can be assured and for that end all picketing shall be stopped save for the *bonâ fide* and peaceful purpose of warning the visitors to liquor shops against the evils of drinking, such picketing to be controlled by persons of known good character and specially selected by the Congress Committees concerned.

(5) The Working Committee advises, till further instructions, the stoppage of all volunteer processions and public meetings merely for the purpose of defiance of the notifications regarding such meetings. This, however, shall not interfere with the private meetings of the Congress and other Committees or public meetings which are required for the conduct of the normal activities of the Congress.

(6) Complaints having been brought to the notice of the Working Committee that ryots are not paying rents to the Zemindars, the Working Committee advises Congress workers and organisations

to inform the ryots that such withholding of rents is contrar[illegible] the resolutions of the Congress and that it is injurious to [illegible] best interests of the country.

(7) The Working Committee assures the Zamindars that the Con[illegible] movement is in no way intended to attack their legal rights, [illegible] that even where the ryots have grievances, the Commi[illegible] desire is that redress should be sought by mutual consulta[illegible] and by the usual recourse to arbitrations.

(8) Complaints having been brought to the notice of the Working C[illegible] mittee that in the formation of volunteer corps great l[illegible] prevails in the selection and that insistence is not had o[illegible] full use of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar, and on the [illegible] observance by Hindus of the rule as to the removal of unto[illegible] ability, nor is care being taken to ascertain that the candi[illegible] believe fully in the observance of non-violence in intent, [illegible] and deed, in terms of the Congress resolution, the Working C[illegible] mittee calls upon all Congress organisations to revise their [illegible] and remove from them the names of all such volunteers s[illegible] not strictly conform to the requirements of the pledge.

(9) The Working Committee is of opinion that unless Congress[illegible] carry out to the full the Congress constitution and the resolu[illegible] from time to time issued by the Working Committee, it i[illegible] possible to achieve its objects expeditiously or at all.

(10) The foregoing resolutions will have effect only pending the me[illegible] to be specially convened of the All-India Congress Committe[illegible] thereafter subject to confirmation by it, the Secretary to [illegible] such meeting as early as possible after consultation with H[illegible] Ajmal Khan.

The New Programme.

Whereas the Gorakhpur tragedy is a powerful proof of the fact tha[illegible] mass mind has not yet fully realised the necessity of non-violence [illegible] integral, active, and chief part of mass civil disobedience, and wherea[illegible] reported indiscriminate acceptance of persons as volunteers in contravent[illegible] the Congress instructions betrays want of appreciation of vital pa[illegible] Satyagraha, and whereas, in the opinion of the Working Committee, the [illegible] in the attainment of national aim is solely due to the weak and incom[illegible] execution, in practice, of the constitution of the Congress and with s[illegible] [illegible] Congress organisations to be engaged in the following activities :—

(1) To enlist at least one crore of members of the Congress.

Note (1).—[illegible] are the essence of the Congress [illegible] attainment of Swaraj. The creed of the Congress must, therefore, be carefully explained to [illegible] who is approached [illegible] join the Congress.

Note (2).—[illegible] regarded as a qualified Congressman. [illegible]

(2) To popularise the spinning wheel and organise the manufact[illegible] hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar.

Note.—To this end all workers and office-bearers should be dressed in khaddar and it is reco[illegible] that with a view to encourage others they should themselves learn hand-spinning.

(3) To organise national schools.

Note.—[illegible]

(4) To organise the depressed classes for a better life, to improve their social, mental and moral condition, to induce them to send their children to national schools, and to provide for them the ordinary facilities which other citizens enjoy.

NOTE.—Whilst, therefore, where the prejudice against the untouchables is still strong, separate schools and separate wells must be maintained out of Congress funds, every effort should be made to draw such children to national schools and to persuade the people to allow the untouchables to use the common wells.

(5) To organise the temperance campaign amongst the people addicted to the drink habit by house to house visits and to rely more upon appeal to the drinker in his home than upon picketing.

(6) To organise village and town Panchayats for the private settlement of all disputes, reliance being placed solely upon the force of public opinion and the truthfulness of Panchayat decisions to ensure obedience to them.

NOTE.—In order to avoid even the appearance of coercion, no social boycott should be resorted to against those who will not obey the Panchayat's decisions.

(7) In order to promote and emphasise unity among all classes and races and mutual goodwill, the establishment of which is the aim of the movement of non-co-operation, to organise a social service department that will render help to all, irrespective of political differences, in times of illness or accident.

NOTE.—A non-co-operator, whilst firmly adhering to his creed, will deem it a privilege to render personal service, in case of illness or accident, to every person whether English or Indian.

(8) To continue the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund and to call upon every Congressman or Congress-sympathiser to pay at least one hundredth part of his annual income for the year 1921. Every province to send every month 25 per cent. of its income from the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund to the All-India Congress Committee.

(9) The above resolution shall be brought before the forthcoming session of the All-India Congress Committee for revision, if necessary.

(10) In the opinion of the Working Committee a project is necessary for the purpose of finding employment for those who may give up Government service, and to that end the Committee appoints Messrs. Mian Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chhotani, Jamnalal Bajaj and V. J. Patel to draw up a scheme for presentation to the said special meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

APPENDIX XII.

The Delhi Resolution.

The following resolution was passed on the 25th February 1922 at the session of the All-India Congress Committee held at Delhi :—

The All-India Congress Committee having carefully considered the resolutions passed by the Working Committee at its meeting held at Bardoli on the 11th and 12th instant, confirms the said resolutions with the modifications voted therein and further resolves that individual Civil Disobedience whether of a defensive or aggressive character may be commenced in respect of particular places or particular laws at the instance of and upon permission being granted therefor by the respective Provincial Committee; provided that such Civil Disobedience shall not be permitted unless all the conditions laid down by the Congress or the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee are strictly fulfilled.

Reports having been received from various quarters that picketing regarding foreign cloth is as necessary as liquor-picketing, the All-India Congress Committee authorises such picketing of a *bonâ-fide* character on the same terms as liquor-picketing mentioned in the Bardoli resolutions.

The All-India Congress Committee wishes it to be understood that the resolutions of the Working Committee do not mean any abandonment of the original Congress programme of non-co-operation or permanent abandonment of Mass Civil Disobedience but considers that an atmosphere of necessary mass non-violence can be established by the workers concentrating upon the constructive programme framed by the Working Committee at Bardoli.

The All-India Congress Committee holds Civil Disobedience to be the right and duty of the people to be exercised and performed whenever the State opposes the declared will of the people.

Note.—Individual Civil Disobedience is disobedience of orders or laws by a single individual or an ascertained number or group of individuals. Therefore a prohibited public meeting where admission is regulated by tickets and to which no unauthorised admission is allowed, is an instance of Individual Civil Disobedience, whereas a prohibited meeting to which the general public is admitted without any restriction is an instance of Mass Civil Disobedience. Such Civil Disobedience is defensive when a prohibited public meeting is held for conducting a normal activity although it may result in arrest. It would be aggressive if it is held not for any normal activity but merely for the purpose of courting arrest and imprisonment.

APPENDIX XIII.

Lord Reading's reply to the Deputation which waited on him in Calcutta in December 1921.

Pandit Malaviya, Mrs. Besant and Gentlemen,

When I was informed that a deputation of the representatives of various shades of political opinion wished to wait upon me for the purpose of placing their views on the situation and suggestions for allaying the present unrest, I gladly assented, and I am pleased to receive you here to-day, for I know that you have come with one object only that is to do what you conceive to be the best in the interests of your country, and to promote its welfare. I am perfectly sure that you are actuated solely by disinterested motives (I have had the pleasure of meeting nearly all of you before to-day): and I do not, I assure you, underrate the importance and the influence of those who are present here this morning. The immediate purpose of your representations, is that I should invite the leading representatives of all shades of political opinion to a conference, in your words to take counsel together and consider practical suggestions and recommendations concerning the remedies which should be adopted; and you recommend, indeed your language is that, it seems imperative that the various notifications and proclamations recently issued by Government should be withdrawn; and all persons imprisoned as the result of their operations immediately released.

Discontinuance of Activities.

I can scarcely conceive that you have intended to present to me such recommendations without having in your minds as a necessary corollary, the equally imperative necessity for the discontinuance of those activities which have led Government to adopt the measures, now forming the subject of discussions.

Law and Order.

I do not propose to discuss those measures, but I will assume that they form the subject as I know of acute controversy. They were adopted by Government with an object of giving protection to law-abiding citizens, particularly here in Calcutta, and in other parts of the country. I have already said, it was not a new policy, it was the application of the policy which lies at the very root of all civilised government, *i.e.*, the maintenance of law and the preservation of order, but nevertheless I will assume as your language indicates that there are considerable doubts as to this policy; and that differences of opinion exist as to the necessity or the advisability of the measures taken. The opinions of Governments are formed upon a general presentation of facts, they cannot be lightly arrived at, and they necessarily are the opinions of persons to whom great positions of trust and responsibility have been confided. I mention this not that you should be asked to accept the dictum of Government, but merely for the purpose of emphasising to you the reasons for this policy.

Calm Atmosphere Wanted.

The tenor of your address implies your recognition, in which I cordially agree, of the need of a calm and serene atmosphere for a conference. Indeed in my judgment it is impossible even to consider the convening of a conference, if agitation in open and avowed defiance of law is meanwhile to be continued.

Guarantees Missing.

Unfortunately I look in vain in your address for any indication that these activities will cease. I fully understand that none of you are in a position to give an assurance to this effect for none of you have been authorised to make it. I hope that I shall not be misinterpreted. I am not suggesting any reproach to anyone concerned, all I mean is that whatever hopes may have been entertained have not been realised, and that therefore, when we are meeting to-day necessarily, rather surprisedly, in view of circumstances, the assurance for which I confess I had been looking as a necessary part of this discussion is not forthcoming. I quite appreciate that there may have been difficulties in the brief time allowed and also in the great distances separating us. I do not know from the address presented to me what view is taken by the leaders who are responsible for non-co-operation activities, in the sense that I find no assurance from them that these activities will cease, if a conference were to be convened. I am asked without such an assurance to withdraw Government measures called into operation by Government under an existing law, for the protection of law-abiding citizens and to release all those arrested for defying this law. I cannot believe that this was the intention of the deputation when originally suggested, for it would mean that throughout the country intimidation and unlawful oppression and other unlawful acts should be allowed to continue, whilst Government action to maintain order and protect the law-abiding citizen would be largely paralysed. I need scarcely tell you that no responsible Government could even contemplate the acceptance of such a state of public affairs, neither can I really believe, that you ever intended it, for it would suggest that Government should abandon one of its primary functions.

Cessation of Activities.

I have no doubt that most of you came under the same impression as myself, when I intimated in reply to a request from Pandit Malaviya that I would willingly receive this deputation. It is very necessary that I should make plain that all discussion between myself and Pandit Malaviya preliminary to this deputation proceeded upon the basis of a genuine attempt, I believe a disinterested and honourable attempt to solve the problems of unrest by means of discussion and consideration at a conference, and that meanwhile there should be a cessation of activities on both sides, of unlawful operations on the part of the non-co-operationists, and of Government prosecutions and imprisonments. I wish it had been possible to consider the convening of a conference in the same atmosphere as characterised the discussions between Pandit Malaviya and myself. I would wish nothing better, and nothing more conducive to beneficial results and more in accordance with patriotism.

" I Hate Arrests."

Let me add speaking not only for myself but also for all the members of my Executive Council, whom I have naturally consulted upon the situation that has arisen, nothing is further from our wishes than the arrests and im-

prisonments of citizens, more particularly citizens of reputation or sons of men of high honour and reputation in the country whose emotions have led them into conflict with the law. I do not hesitate to say that I hate this making of numerous arrests and prosecutions, but nevertheless so long as there is open defiance of law Government have no other course. There may be discussions about measures. I can quite conceive that men in high positions and understanding of public affairs may wish to make representations to a government upon a particular measure, or that in the legislatures steps may be taken for the purpose of calling attention to it.

The Excesses.

I understand that the wisdom and judgment of Governments or of a particular Government may be brought under consideration. All that is possible, what I cannot understand and cannot conceive, is that the Indian, I am not speaking of parties, I am not speaking of creeds or of races, but that the Indian is opposed to the proper maintenance of law and to the preservation of order. I won't recapitulate the conditions that led throughout the various provinces of India to the action taken by Governments. Indeed here in Calcutta, the facts are too well-known to require repetitions particularly after the pronouncement of His Excellency the Governor in his address to the Legislative Council on Monday last.

May I observe now, that I am not suggesting that there can be no excesses by those entrusted with authority, some may have occurred. It is very rarely that in such a condition of affairs as existed here some excess may not happen: all that can be said has already been said by His Excellency the Governor. It is that every precaution will be taken to prevent recurrence and that every attempt will be made to ensure proper enquiry and that proper steps are taken in the result.

The New Situation.

I wish with all my heart that it had been possible to deal with these problems in a large and generous spirit worthy of such an occasion in the history of India. Had there been indications to this effect before me to-day in the representations which you have made in your address on the part of the leaders of non-co-operation, had the offer been made to discontinue open breaches of law for the purpose of providing a calmer atmosphere for discussion of remedies my Government would never have been backward in response. We would have been prepared to consider the new situation in the same large and generous spirit, and I would have conferred with the local governments for this purpose. I should have wished and I know that I speak not only my own thoughts, but those of Pandit Malaviya in this respect, that if such conditions had supervened no advantage or triumph should be claimed on either side, and no reproach should be made by the other of having been forced to yield or not having the courage to proceed with its campaign. I should have wished to see a new spirit introduced. In this respect, I do not stand alone in addressing you. I believe that if you were to give expression to your views, you would all agree with me that a new spirit should be created for the purpose of considering a conference in different circumstances and with higher hopes.

I deeply regret that these are not the present conditions, and the discussion which I thought was to have proceeded on the high level of a patriotic desire, by mutual concession and forbearance to the finding of a solution of India's present problems, takes the form in its present aspect of a request to the

Government to abandon its action without any guarantee that the action which had led or as we believe forced the Government to take such action would also cease, therefore it is that to a request conveyed to me even by s influential and authoritative a deputation as yourselves to call a conference coupled as it is with the two conditions of revocation of the law and releas of all the prisoners, the answer I must make is that I cannot comply with the request. Those are the conditions presented to me. Here again I speak not only my own views but those of those associated with me in the government who have unanimously arrived at the same conclusion in conference with me. Yet I should be sorry indeed if any observation I have made could be construed into a refusal for all time to consider the convening of a conference. Certainly I have not intended by the language I have used to convey that meaning to you. I have too great a regard for the value of discussion and for the consideration of any suggestions and recommendations that may be made. I am no one of those who think that all wisdom is to found in those wh happen to be in positions of authority. I have had too great an experience of life not to appreciate that advantage may be derived from discussion an consultation with others who see from different angles, and who may have views to put forward which had not occurred to us; but I can only act a the moment in view of the present existing circumstances, and as they stand for the reasons that I have given you. I must express my great regret that th essential conditions for the peace are not forthcoming.

Punjab and Khilafat.

Before I part from you I cannot refrain from making some brief observation on the statements in your address. I do not propose to go through them but you refer to the action that Government has taken in relation to th Punjab and Khilafat wrongs. I acknowledge your expression with regard t them. You state that Government has not yet done all that it is though should have been done. That, of course, is a legitimate view, and one wit which I do not quarrel. But, may I ask you momentarily to pause an think with regard to these matters? Are these really the causes of the presen conditions of affairs? Ever since I have been here, and frequently as result of consultation with those of great influence who do not represen Government, I have taken steps to meet the views presented to me in respec of the Punjab wrongs. That we have not been able to go to the full lengt I readily admit. I am perfectly aware of the desire on the part of man that more should be done not only from my reading, but from interview when recommendations have been very forcibly presented to me. I hav not accepted them because I have thought that I could not conscientiously giv effect to them.

"Swaraj."

With regard to the Khilafat what action is it suggested that the Govern ment of India should take. We have done every thing possible. I am no speaking only of my Government. I refer also to that of my predecesso Lord Chelmsford. You are all well aware that he also made the stronges representations to His Majesty's Government at Home. There are som present and particularly I see one who was at the deputation that went Hom to the Prime Minister, who alleged that the fault was against the Governmen of India. In this respect where do we fail? I will not pursue the subjec but I make these observations for your consideration.

One further word upon the Reforms. Let me see how we stand becaus as I understand it, the view presented is that, in the main, the desire f

swaraj, complete swaraj, i.e., full self-Government, should be given as speedily as possible. History is so well-known to you that I only recall to you the one fact that the legislatures have only begun to function this very year, and the demand is for a more extended, or for complete, swaraj. Let us examine the facts. Not only have the Reforms been granted, but they are actually in operation. They have been completely tested and although I am sympathetic with the views of those who desire that in the future, as soon as it can be properly and safely done, there should be an extension. Surely there is not sufficient reason, in that respect, for an acute crisis as is suggested in your address. But I will not analyse further.

I would ask you who represent the various shades of opinion to consider the present situation. I have already told you of my Government's dislike of arrest and imprisonment. I know that you yourselves have strong feelings upon the subject. You tell me in the address that we are proceeding to an acute crisis. It may be that we may have a more disturbed condition of affairs than at present. If the law is defied, whatever the reasons, all the incidents that unfortunately accompany a challenge of the law, and of which we have seen instances only during the recent past, must surely follow.

I appeal to you to observe the conditions to-day and in the future, and urge upon you that we should all seek a high level above party or political advantages, otherwise we shall all be failing in our duty to India. I remind you that, whatever reforms may be desired in the present constitutional system, they can only come through the British Parliament. The only constitutional method, the only peaceful solution, is by the British Parliament amending the Government of India Act.

Therefore it is so important that a proper impression should be made upon the British Parliament, and the British people who are represented by that Parliament. For the vast majority of the population of India is loyal to the Crown.

Whatever their views may be about other political controversies, H. R. H. the Prince of Wales will arrive in Calcutta within the next 3 days. He has nothing to do with the political controversies that are agitating us at the moment, yet every attempt is being made to prevent the success of his visit. I shall not discuss or characterise those attempts, but I must utter the warning that every man who lends himself to an affront to the Prince of Wales is doing incalculable injury to India and her fortunes in the future. We hold His Royal Highness in deep affection and admiration.

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